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Editor's Notes

THE Administrator has tended to agree with Havelock Ellis that "the methods of statistics are so variable and uncertain, so apt to be influenced by circumstance, that it is never possible to be sure that one is operating with figures of equal weight". [1] Administrators have often found statistics hard to digest and to evaluate and in consequence have fought shy of them, somewhat frightened off by what has proved if not incomprehensible certainly complex and even mysterious. "An uncomfortable subject" in the words of Dr. Roberts, yet current statistics properly and clearly and accurately presented are the vital planning tools without which intelligent development administration can but be feeling its way in the dark. Time again one reads of the frustration of planners working in the less developed countries who find themselves inhibited by lack of available up to date statistics from doing their job properly, guessing instead of estimating from the facts that only statistics can provide. We are therefore very glad to publish in this Number Dr. Roberts' article on "Statistics and the Administrator" which we confidently believe will bring considerable enlightenment to many administrators and help considerably to make the subject less "uncomfortable".

If the administrator is to make proper use of statistics he must have them passed to him in such a manner as not to be misleading, e.g. the F.A.O. Trade Year Book for 1966 gives 1965 total world export of sugar as 1011.1 thousand metric tons without mention of any standard deviation or range. The unsophisticated reader would believe that F.A.O. could estimate world sugar exports to the nearest 100 metric tons. Yet Cuba for instance is left out of the total and this is nowhere mentioned. Whereas in U.N. Bulletin of Statistics, per capita income is quoted country by country, such figures by themselves without other essential data would be a strange means of deciding future aid requirements—administrators need an indication as to the reliability of statistics set before them – not merely a statistical datum.

Teamwork is needed; if the statistician knows the problem the administrator has to solve he can the better provide the particular statistics required and omit that which is unnecessary. Teamwork is needed to decide upon the utility of statistics for particular purposes, for here statistical rather than administrative experience is required and in the modern world of specialization, with statistics as with all aspects of planning, compartment-mindedness must give place to co-ordinated interdisciplinary co-operation. Very relevant to Dr. Roberts' theme is the article on Zambian manpower planning by Colin Greenfield that follows – planning which was clearly handicapped by the paucity of available statistics.

Too little is generally known of the major role of the European Development Fund as a donor to Africa (though its assistance is not limited to the one continent) and we welcome the opportunity to publish Dr. Soper's study of the Fund which is operated by the six member countries of the European

[1] *The Dance of Life* by Havelock Ellis, Chapter VI.

Common Market. How this important multi-lateral system functions, the chain of command both political and administrative, the procedural arrangements with project aid tied but assistance given covering foreign currency and local costs, the extent to which recipients participate at all stages of the aid programme, will, we believe, add very usefully to the knowledge of many readers. Perhaps, also, as Dr. Soper suggests, here lies a valuable lesson which the British Commonwealth might usefully follow in the field of aid.

In Part II of his article Professor Tordoff examines the political/administrative system now operating at District level in Zambia. He describes the reforms that have taken place as the "transitional approach" method – post independence changes have been considerable and one wonders whether the average citizen really sees the new presbyter as old priest writ large!

We also include in this number C. P. Bhambhri's study of the Indian Foreign Service – a highly important branch of the administration which he considers stands in need of certain structural reforms, and finally an article on Co-operatives by R. C. Gates who believes that the Co-operative Movement "can be a better channel for the distribution of development aid . . . than through an expensive bureaucratic set-up".

Statistics and the Administrator

By JAMES S. ROBERTS

Dr. Roberts is Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, at the University of Nevada, U.S.A.

STATISTICS is an uncomfortable subject for many administrators. A moment's reflection and a degree of modesty are usually sufficient to reveal to the administrator that he is technically incompetent to utilize effectively modern statistical techniques. On the other hand, the abundant evidence of the importance of statistics not only as a means of quantitative description but as an aid to wise decisions makes the administrator painfully aware of his deficiency. The purpose of this article is to describe a meaningful role for the administrator in the effective use of statistics, however limited his own statistical training may be.

To understand the administrator's role in the effective use of statistics, the following introductory observations may be helpful. First, statistics is not a substitute for mature judgment and responsible action. Statistics cannot guarantee that good decisions will be made. Properly used, however, statistics frequently will give the administrator an added capacity to make better decisions. This capacity will not usually depend on the administrator's personal statistical competence, but on his ability to use competent statisticians effectively.

Secondly, to operate effectively, the statistician needs the help of the administrator. Information must be gathered from public and private sources. The administrator can do much to make information available and to create a receptive atmosphere for the work of the statistician. Thirdly, statisticians need responsible criticism. Close association with the collection and analysis of data may give the statistician a myopic view of his work. The administrator must add the necessary balance and perspective. These observations indicate a meaningful role for the administrator in the effective use of statistics. He must develop a grasp of statistics which will enable him:

(1) to appreciate the value of statistics to administration;

(2) to support effectively the work of the statistician; and

(3) to question responsibly the results of statistical investigations.

What is Statistics?

If an administrator were to seek a definition of statistics as a starting point for his introduction to the discipline, he might find some of the following descriptions useful:

"Statistics refers to a purposeful set of figures."

"Statistics is concerned with scientific methods for collecting, organizing and summarizing, presenting and analyzing data, as well as drawing valid conclusions and making reasonable decisions on the basis of such analysis."

"Statistics is a body of methods for making wise decisions in the face of uncertainty."

Each of these definitions has merit, but it is perhaps more helpful at an introductory stage for the administrator to think of statistics as a special language. Like any language, statistics is basically a system of communication. Man uses many systems of communication. English, French, Urdu, Hausa, and Swahili can each be considered a system of communication. On a different level, gestures, facial movements and tone are systems of communication. On yet another level music and art are systems of communication. Among people who know more than one language, it frequently develops that a certain idea can be better expressed in one language than another: certain feelings and emotions can perhaps be better communicated through music and art rather than speech. Each system of communication is particularly suited to transmitting between persons certain kinds of ideas, attitudes, beliefs, concepts, and emotions; each system has its limitations.

Statistics, in light of the above, can be considered a system of communication particularly suited for the rapid and accurate transfer of information and ideas which are quantitative in nature. Statistics permits a more precise understanding of things which can be weighed, measured, and counted.

Statistics, as any language, is more than simply a method of describing aspects of the world around us. It is also a tool for analysis. Properly used, it can shape and clarify information to a point where it gains additional meaning and utility. Systematic treatment can reveal aspects of quantitative data which might be misunderstood or missed entirely without statistical analysis.

Accurate description and analysis are keys to scientific methodology in any field of learning. The ultimate goal of every science, however, is *predictive validity*. The chemist seeks to know the structure and characteristics of chemicals so he can predict the results when certain chemicals are combined. The astronomer has described and analyzed the motion of the planets to a point where eclipses and the return of comets can be predicted with great accuracy.

Scientific methodology is not as easily applied to the study of administration, but, in the search for predictive validity, statistics can provide the administrator with a quantitative understanding of the past and present and some meaningful guides to future action.

How Much Statistics Should an Administrator Know?

There are several levels of statistical competence which may valuably be distinguished. The development of new frontiers requires the work of theoretical statisticians. From these persons, fully trained in their discipline, come the abstract theories, the development and mathematical proofs of complex formulas, the construction of statistical models, and the development of new techniques. At another level are the applied statisticians, persons well-trained in statistics who can understand the work of the theoretician and choose the right formulas and methods and properly apply them to the solution of practical problems. At yet another level is the administrator with statistical responsibilities. His responsibility is to know enough about the work of the theoretical and applied statisticians to allow them to make

their maximum contribution to the problems at hand. Unfortunately the administrator and the statistician are frequently separated by barriers of language, status, attitude, and perspective. Administrators often treat cynically that which they do not understand, and the statistician is frequently unaware or unappreciative of non-statistical factors which bear on the solutions of various administrative problems.

Effective use of statistics in administration requires a free flow of ideas between the administrator and the statistician. Hopefully each will seek to understand better the other's frame of reference. It may be argued that the statistician, since he performs essentially an advisory staff function, has the responsibility to communicate effectively to the administrator – in non-statistical language if necessary. This does not, however, relieve the administrator of the responsibility to learn something about the basic language and techniques of the statistician to facilitate the easy communication between the two. The administrator, who has frequent statistical responsibilities, must try to learn the language of the statistician. Languages can be learned to various levels of competence. To extend the analogy, it is not necessary to learn a language to the competence of the grammarian, the linguist, or the novelist to use a language effectively. Similarly, an administrator need not seek the command of statistics possessed by the applied and the theoretical statisticians. His responsibility is to know enough about statistics to provide an easy channel of communication between the statistician and the problems with which the administrator must deal.

The administrator's understanding of statistics begins not with the formulas and nomenclature, but rather with an appreciation of what statistics can do. Fundamentally, statistics assists in the orderly and disciplined use of one's mind. This is not to imply that a person cannot reach rational solutions to quantitative problems without statistics. On the contrary, as has been wisely pointed out by the statistician: "Statistical interpretation depends not only on statistical ideas but also on 'ordinary' clear thinking. Clear thinking is not only indispensable in interpreting statistics but it is often sufficient even in the absence of specific statistical knowledge.[1]"

Statistics seeks to do the same thing that other orderly thought processes seek, which is accurately to perceive, understand, and reasonably meet problems and decide on rational courses of action.

The obvious inference is that the administrator, without any specific statistical training, can perform an intelligent and meaningful role with respect to the statistical operations involved in his work.

The Meaningful Question

A fundamental duty of every administrator is to question intelligently the work of his colleagues and his subordinates. Intelligent questioning is not fault-finding. It does not demand great technical competence. Intelligent questioning stems from an interest and awareness of the value of the work of the subordinate or the colleague and the desire to have this work makes its maximum contribution to the work of the agency. With respect to statistics many reasonable questions can be asked of any statistical investigation. The administrator may ask "How was the data obtained?" and,

[1] W. Allen Wallis and Harry V. Roberts, *Statistics: A New Approach* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p.17.

related to this point, "What difficulties were encountered in data gathering and how were these difficulties overcome?"

Statistical research in administration often involves the human factor. Gathering information from persons within the administrative structure or from sections of the general public invariably raises difficulties. Many times the fundamental problem is a residual hostility of many people to co-operating with government in any information-gathering programme. Within the administration itself, subordinate employees may be suspicious of attempts to gather quantitative information about the work of their particular office. In asking questions on how the statistical data was gathered, the administrator has the right to learn from the statistician the exact methodology which was used. Assurance that the procedure was scientific, or that the sampling was random, is not sufficient. A detailed and accurate description of the data-gathering process should be available to the administrator. The administrator should be suspicious of investigation in which no difficulties were encountered. The order and symmetry which frequently appeal to the statistician are usually not characteristic of administrative problems.

A second area of questioning concerns data itself. The administrator should, in reviewing the work of statisticians, ask himself: "Is the data internally consistent?" "Are there unreasonable irregularities?" "Are there unreasonable regularities?" "What are the explanations for extreme values?" Each of these is a reasonable question to be asked of any body of data. Finally, the administrator must ask, "How relevant is the data gathered to the solution of the administrative problems to which the data relates?" Questions such as these stem not from statistical competence but considerations of orderly procedure and relevance – both of which are important responsibilities of the administrator.

Administrative Support

In addition to helpful questioning, the administrator can help the statistician many times by bringing the authority of his office in support of the work of the statistician. The data which the administrator needs from the statistician is usually not obtained from books, records, or accounts. Information must be gained through data-collecting techniques that frequently involve a large number of persons. If data is to be collected from the general public, the administrator must do all he can to develop support for the investigation within the community. This requires advanced planning and quite possibly the education of the people to be interviewed. Persons who gather data are usually relatively untrained in the statistical process to which the data will be subjected. It is the responsibility of the administrator as well as the statistician to make persons responsible for data gathering aware of the problems which they will encounter and the proper technique to be used. Furthermore, the administrators may frequently have financial responsibility for the effective conduct of statistical research. The statistician has the responsibility for intelligent and accurate processing of data and meaningful analysis. The administrator must see to it that the results of this work are presented in such a way that the text and tabular and graphic presentations effectively communicate the results of the statistical investigations to the groups that will be concerned with this information.

Meaningful work by the administrator in all the above areas can be done

without specific statistical training. Obviously, however, the administrator can contribute a great deal more if he has a basic understanding of the terminology and techniques of statistics.

Terminology

Many fields of learning have developed a terminology and method of expression which are not easily understood by the layman. At times the outsider suspects that the special terminology may be merely a form of cant to mystify the uninitiated or he may cynically suspect that it is nothing more than a device for raising the stature of a discipline. However, special terminology is often devised for precision and clarity in thought. Such terminology is fundamental to scientific enquiry.

In the glossary which follows, certain basic terms are given. Most of these are easily understood. A few, however, will be further explained in the paragraphs which follow:

SOME BASIC TERMS

Datum	Any record of experience.
Raw Data	Unorganized masses of data which take the form of numbers or measures in statistics.
Array	A series of numbers arranged in ascending or descending order. Numbers arranged by magnitude.
Tally	A mark made after each number on a systematic form as it is extracted from a record of measurement.
Frequency	The number of times that a number or measure occurs in distribution.
Frequency Distribution	An arrangement of data which shows the number of times each measure, or group of measures occurs.
Skewness	Degree of asymmetry apparent in a frequency distribution.
Population	The entire group. Finite or infinite.
Sample	A portion of the population subjected to analysis.
Random Sampling	A sampling process in which each item in a population has an equal chance of being selected within the sample.
Central Tendency	Concentration at certain values.
Mode	The quantity which appears most frequently in the data gathered.
Median	The "middle" observation in arrayed data.
Mean (Arithmetic)	The sum of all values divided by the number of observations or pieces of data.
Variation	Dispersion in relation to central tendency.
Range	The difference between the highest and lowest values in the data being analyzed.
Standard Deviation	A valuable measure of dispersion on "spread" in the data studied.
Correlation	A measure of correspondence between two sets of data.

(*a*) *Describing "Averages"*

A single number describing some feature of a set of data is called a "descriptive statistic". The statistician is often concerned with calculating a "descriptive statistic" which indicates the "average" quantity of a set of data. There are, however, several methods of measuring an average or "central tendency". The statistician, therefore, tends to think in terms of "means," "medians," and "modes" rather than "averages".

Before introducing these concepts, it is important to note that none of these various measures of central tendency is inately superior to another. No single descriptive statistic tells everything about central tendency, and the selection of one measure over another depends on what the statistician or the administrator desires to know about a particular mass of quantitative data. Often the administrator will find it helpful to have available several measures of central tendency.

The concepts of "mode", "median," and "mean" can be illustrated with reference to the following data concerning the number of days sick leave taken by ten hypothetical employees in a department.

Employee	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
No of Days Sick Leave	4	2	7	6	6	1	9	6	5	4

The first step is to "array" the data:

1, 2, 4, 4, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 9

This simple process makes it easy to determine the "mode" and "median". The mode, or most frequent value, is 6. The median or middle observation falls between 5 and 6. The mean which, in this case, is 5 is obtained by adding the ten numbers and dividing by ten.

If "G" were not an employee of this department, the measures of central tendency for the remaining nine employees would be as follows: the mode would still be 6, the median would now be 5, and the mean would be approximately 4.56.

When the word "mean" is used, it is understood that the statistician is referring to the arithmetic mean. However, the statistician may refer to "weighted means," "harmonic means," "quadratic means," and "geometric means". Although there is little value in discussing each of these terms here, it should be noted that each can be easily understood by the administrator, and each may have a particular value in certain types of statistical analysis.

(*b*) *Measures of Variability*

Averages give useful information but they tell nothing about the distortion of data. If a person is attempting to cross a river, it is not particularly helpful to know that the average depth is two feet. The central channel may still be well over the head of the traveller attempting to cross the stream.

The statistician has several ways of measuring variation or dispersion of values. In crossing the stream, for example, the "range" is the important measure of variability. The range is the difference between the highest and the lowest values in a group of observation. It gives a quick and easily understood indication of dispersion.

However, the range depends entirely on the extreme upper and extreme

lower values. It is strongly affected by the sample size. By definition, if the size of the sample is increased, the range can either remain the same or it will increase when higher or lower values than those already recorded are found. Also the range identifies only the total spread. It gives no sense of distribution of the quantities in the data studied.

To get a figure that meaningfully describes this distribution, the statistician wants a positive number which will increase in magnitude as variability increases. Mean or average deviation is a simple measure of such variation. Standard deviation is more difficult to derive but is more useful to the statistician since it is important for further analysis of data. Each of these measures of variation can be illustrated by the data previously given concerning sick leave.

When the data is arrayed it is easily noted that highest value is 9; the lowest is 1. The range, or difference between these values is 8. To calculate the mean deviation, it is first necessary to calculate the mean. As previously indicated the mean is five. The average deviation is calculated by totalling up the difference between each value given and the arithmetic mean without regard to sign:

Days sick leave (arrayed)	1	2	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	9
Mean	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Difference	4	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	4

Total difference: 18 Total observations: 10

Average or mean deviation: $\frac{18}{10}$ or 1.8

Standard deviation is a more involved concept. Its derivation begins in the same way as the mean deviation, but, after the difference or deviation from the mean is calculated for each observation, each difference is squared. The mean of the squared deviations is then computed and its square root calculated. To illustrate with the previous data:

Days sick leave	1	2	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	9
Mean	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Difference	4	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	4
Difference squared	16	9	1	1	0	1	1	1	4	16

Total difference squared: 50 Total observations: 10

Mean of squared deviations: $\frac{50}{10}$ or 5.

Square root of 5 = 2.24 approximately. This would be the standard deviation.

The great utility of standard deviation lies not immediately in the field of descriptive statistics but rather in the contribution of this descriptive statistic to more advanced statistical processes particularly in the area of statistical inference. Its particular value comes when it is desired to interpret data with reference to the normal distribution curve. Approximately two-thirds of all observations in a normal curve distribution vary from the mean by one standard deviation or less. About 95 per cent of all observations in a normal distribution will lie within two standard deviations of the mean.

(*c*) *Correlation Analysis*

The measures of central tendency and the measures of variation tell us something about a single variable under consideration. It may be the median in a group of test grades, it may describe the range in traffic flow over certain thoroughfares. The statisticians also have methods by which one set of data can be related to another set of data and it is often found that sometimes variation in one set of data is reflected in a similar variation in a second set of data. When there seems to be some relationship in two sets of data they are said to be "associated" or "correlated" or that they "vary proportionately." Perfect correlation is where a change in one variable causes a proportionate change in another variable. In the physical sciences we often encounter perfect correlation. Force, for example, is equal to the mass of an object times the acceleration. As acceleration increases or as mass increases there will be a proportionate increase in force. Sometimes there is perfect negative correlation; light, for example, is inversely proportionate to the square of the distance.

In a social science, however, perfect correlation is rare. What the statistician needs is some measure which will indicate a degree of correlation between two sets of figures. The statistician has available to him a number of means of determining correlation. Whatever method is used, the objective is to gain a descriptive statistic which measures the degree of correlation between "0" or no correlation and "1" which is perfect correlation. It is then possible to divide the range between zero and one with the values approaching zero indicating less and less correlation and the values approaching one as indicating more and more correlation.

Correlation formulas are not easily explained. For the administrator, of greater importance than the calculation of correlation is understanding of what correlation is and what it is not. Correlation is not causality. Correlation is nothing more than a corresponding movement of data. Correlation does not in itself prove any functional relationship. It seems natural to man to explain some relationship when a high degree of correlation is found and there may well be some mutual dependency which causes the correlation. However, the administrator should be well aware of the explanations for spurious correlation. Correlation may be caused by sheer coincidence. It may be caused by the action of another variable which is unreckoned and unknown. It may be caused by a bias of persons responsible for collecting data. And finally, it may be the result of sampling errors.

For example, we may gather data on sick leave and attempt to correlate this data with age.

Employee	F	B	A	J	I	D	E	H	C	G
Days sick leave	1	2	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	9
Age of Employee	22	21	34	31	40	47	43	39	48	54

By glancing over the data it can be seen that the oldest person has taken more sick leave than the others and the two youngest employees have taken the least. A statistician could provide a figure which would support a significant degree of correlation. It would, however, be jumping far ahead to reason that age causes a rise in sick leave. The correlation may well be accidental.

In descriptive statistics the administrator has a group of tools which allow him to present information clearly and quickly. The administrator should remember, however, that one particular measure of dispersion or correlation or central tendency is not inately superior to another measure. Each of the measures of statistical description presented has its values. The utility of each will depend upon the wise choice of the administrator in employing a particular measure in the description of a particular set of data for a particular purpose.

The Formula

Most frustrating to the average administrator looking in on the field of statistics is the use of formulas and mathematical notation. Formulas often involve unfamiliar signs and symbols. To compound the difficulty, there is not complete standardization among statisticians as to which symbols are to be used. For the administrator it is important to realize that mathematical formulas are a form of shorthand. They allow the statistician to say a great deal in a minimum of space. Verbally the mathematician could say "the arithmetic mean is equal to the sum of the values of the observations divided by the number of observations," but why say in twenty words what can be conveyed in a few symbols.

The following analogy may be helpful. One test of a person's ability to articulate well is to ask him to describe, in words, a "spiral staircase". Most persons, when asked this question, will simply say that "a spiral staircase is one that goes like this." Then he will raise his finger and slowly rotate it upward. By means of a gesture and a few words he communicates very clearly the idea of a spiral staircase. Yet if this is to be done by words alone, rather extensive verbal presentation would be necessary. For the statistician the formula provides a similar device. It allows the statician to state some aspects of reality in a compact, efficient, and easily manipulated fashion. Once the administrator realizes this, he should have less fears and apprehensions about the formulas used by the statistician with which he works.

The fear of formulas can, in many cases, be quickly dispelled by analyzing the formulas in the following manner. First, write down, in words, the meaning of each component symbol. Second, state in a brief sentence the meaning of the whole formula. Third, test the formula with a simple numerical example. The more complex formulas will not be easily dissected, but they retain their value as an easily manipulated form of shorthand. The administrator should acquaint himself with formulas at least to the extent that he loses his "allergy to algebra."

Data Presentation

The language of the statistician is more than the development of a precise terminology and a convenient shorthand. Most important is the means by which the statistician presents his data for consumption. In this area, the administrator has an important role to play. The effectiveness with which the fruits of statistical work are presented depends not only on the care and accuracy of the work but also upon the clarity and vividness with which the work is presented.

Data presentation can roughly be divided into two main classifications,

tabular and graphic. Each of these two main methods of presentation has many subdivisions. The superiority of one method of presentation over the other lies not only in the nature of data but is related to the persons to whom the data is to be presented. A table which may hold great value to the statistician may be incomprehensible to the person who will ultimately use the data. On the other hand, a more simplified presentation may distort or destroy certain information. The administrator can provide valuable assistance to the statistician by working with him to develop the most effective way of presenting data – striking a happy medium between elimination of bulky details and the maintenance of correct implications of the data.

The same may be said with respect to graphs or pictorial representation of statistical data. Many line graphs on a single-scale chart may be meaningful to the statistician, but confusing to the lay reader. More graphic representations such as colourful histograms or pie charts may present very vivid pictures to the reader, but often at the cost of critically distorting certain information, particularly that involving small factors in relation to the whole. Again, the administrator has a most significant role. He must be able to advise the statistician wisely on the graphic presentation of data so that the audience to whom the data is directed will rapidly grasp the significance of the data collected.

Statistical Inference

The material presented above has dealt largely with what is referred to as "descriptive statistics". The basic function of any language is to describe. There is, however, another level of thought which can be powerfully aided by statistics. As mentioned earlier, "Statistics is a body of methods for making wise decisions in the face of uncertainty". Statistics can provide the administrator with sound guides for (i) judging that which he does not fully know in the present, and (ii) estimating the probability of certain eventualities. In recent years, in technologically advanced countries, this area of statistics has become a critically important tool in matters of industrial development, national defence, social welfare programmes, and all forms of policy planning.

The utility of statistical inference can be easily understood by the administrator. Statistical inference permits the statistician to sample the population and to predict with a known degree of accuracy how closely the characteristics of the sample will approximate the characteristics of the population. The statistician can also calculate how large a sample is necessary for the desired degree of accuracy. The development of decision theory, estimation, quality control, has greatly increased the importance of the statistical inference to administration. This rise in importance has been so rapid that it is necessary to take a step or two backward and survey the difficulties and limitations of statistical inference.

First, and fundamentally important, decisions based on statistical inference will sometimes be wrong. Indeed they must be wrong. The same logic which will support a 98 per cent probability that a certain inference will be correct also supports a 2 per cent chance that the inference will be wrong. Somewhere in the back of his mind the administrator should keep the wise observation that "the improbable is inevitable."

The second important fact about inference is that it is normally based on

assumptions which may well not prove to be valid in the future. Predictions of water supply are based in part on predictions of rainfall, industrial use of water and the rate of human consumption. Increased industrialization, changes in weather patterns, will influence these assumptions significantly. Predictions designed to meet the future traffic needs of a nation are based on assumptions concerning the increase in various types of transportation which again are based on population trends, income trends, trends in industrialization and the general economic well-being of the economy. Clearly in any statistical analysis the administrator should work with the statistician in weighing assumptions.

Thirdly, and of fundamental mathematical importance, statistical inference is based on the concept of randomness. The basic proposition is that random sampling produces random error. Random errors tend to cancel each other out. If the sampling is large enough or a number of different samples are taken, each at random, the characteristics of the sample will approximate the characteristics of the population. With biased sampling the result is usually biased error which normally trends in one direction. In brief, the degree to which a sample reflects a population will depend statistically on the degree to which randomness has been achieved.

The non-statistician is usually surprised at how difficult it is to achieve true randomness in any sampling problem in the social sciences. Randomness is not haphazard selection. True randomness means that each item in a population under examination has an equal chance with all other items to be selected. Flipping a coin or rolling a pair of dice provide simple examples approaching true randomness but this technique cannot easily be applied to public administration. If population characteristics are to be surveyed, farm productivity analyzed, the effectiveness of malaria eradication programmes tested, or the demand for passenger services for trains and planes predicted, the statistician must be able to sample randomly to obtain the greatest degree of accuracy with the minimum expense. When one is working with farmers, mosquitoes, or demands for services, true randomness is almost impossible to obtain. The administrator must work closely with the statistician to seek a close approximation of randomness.

Many times certain special forms of sampling may prove more desirable. "Stratified Sampling" may be called for with respect to certain problems which can be broken down into several clear divisions or parts. "Cluster Sampling" may be economically superior in some cases where relatively few areas are chosen at random but within the area chosen many samples are taken. "Systematic Sampling" is the process by which the statistician examines every 5th, 10th or some other convenient interval from a list of all possible observations. Systematic sampling produces randomness if the original listing is random. Whatever system is used the statistician will often need the advice of the administrator.

Concluding Note

Some years ago a science-fiction writer described a future society which was run by electronic computers. Every problem which faced the individual could be solved by "thinking machines" into which the data of a problem could be fed, and the machine would process the data and arrive at an

unbiased solution to the problem. If, for example, a person felt ill, he described his symptoms to a machine. In seconds, the machine searched its taped "memory," weighed, analyzed, computed, arrived at a diagnosis and prescribed a remedy. At one point in the story, however, an individual appears before the machine with a set of symptoms which fit no pattern "programmed" into the machine. At this point the reader's hope is raised. Perhaps there is one small aspect of one individual which is beyond the reach of the machine. No, the machine triumphs. It prescribes an operation, a lobotomy, which alters the individual's personality. The next time he appears before the machine, he has the "right" symptoms.

The above illustration may be viewed with humour, but it also warns of a tendency in modern society to systematize, quantify, and standardize to the point where uniqueness and individuality are lost. Sport after sport has been transformed from a contest between individuals to an exercise in statistics: bowling is analyzed; silver, gold, and bronze medals are transformed into "points"; races are often run to break some existing record. A large segment of mankind listening to a "hi-fi" set is more concerned with a technical analysis of the fidelity of sound than with the artistic conceptions of the composer. In eating, the emphasis is shifting from taste and enjoyment to vitamins and caloric intake per day. New class structures are developing in societies based on I.Q. tests, quantitative personality evaluations, and statistical measurements of success potential. Even feminine beauty has been standardized to a point where it can be meaningfully described to some people as 36–24–36.

In a similar way, there is an aspect of the rapid growth in the role of statistics in modern administration which, at best, is mournful and, at worst, ominous. The value of statistics in describing, quantifying, and in predicting results is so abundantly clear and logically compelling that creative intelligence, inspiration, uniqueness, and individual perceptiveness become secondary – or are overlooked entirely. Emotions, feelings, belief systems, and normative values are frequently treated with suspicion and hostility. Governmental administration, however, involves values; non-quantitative judgments must be made. Statistics is an indispensible component of the science of administration, but there is more to the administrative process than can be set forth in a "testable" hypothesis and solved by an IBM machine. The administrator has a unique and challenging responsibility. In the exploding economic and social development of the emerging and modern state, the administrator must be able to utilize the advancement of technology without being dominated by it. With respect to statistics, the responsibility of the administrator is to gain a sufficient grasp of the subject so that it remains a staff function which, in the generic sense, is something to lean on. The wise administrator of the future may have to lean quite heavily on the statistician, but the purposes for which he uses this support will depend on factors beyond statistics.

Manpower Planning in Zambia

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THE economy of Zambia is growing and changing rapidly; so much so that any description given now, particularly of organizational aspects of manpower planning, might well be out-of-date in six months time. The fundamental manpower problems, however, of an acute shortage of well-educated, trained and experienced labour together with an abundance of unskilled, underemployed or unemployed labour, do not change so rapidly. This latter problem is the greater of the two, for with population growing at an estimated 3.5 per cent per annum, then even with the current rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product, estimated at about 11 per cent per annum in real terms, the increase in employment opportunities is barely sufficient to absorb the increase in the labour force. Paradoxically, with a land area of 290,000 square miles but a mean density of population per square mile of only 13.7, in certain areas there are too few people to enable a number of desirable developments: insufficient supply of unskilled labour to man a factory, or too few children to warrant the provision of a school, for example.

The Manpower Survey

In attempting to plan amelioration of the manpower situation, an immediate obstacle is the lack of necessary statistics. Prior to 1965, there was virtually no information on the labour force, particularly on its educational and occupational structure, other than that collected inadequately in past censuses. A quarterly employment enquiry was and is carried out by the Central Statistical Office, but this simply gives employment by race, sex and industry and average earnings by race and industry, which is of limited value for purposes of manpower planning. In order, therefore, to plan the manpower aspects of the First National Development Plan,[1] a manpower survey[2] was undertaken in mid-1965.

The survey was directed at employees and employers with, or in jobs

* The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Office of National Development and Planning, of which he is an employee.

[1] '*First National Development Plan*,' 1966-70 (Office of National Development and Planning, Lusaka.)

[2] The results of this survey are summarised in the '*Manpower Report – A Report and Statistical Handbook on Manpower, Education, Training and Zambianisation* 1965-6' (Government Printer, Lusaka).

requiring, a Form II[3] level of education or above; jobs requiring less than a Form II level of eduation were not covered on the assumption that the major manpower shortages, to the solution of which educational and training programmes would have to be directed, would occur in the occupations requiring at least a Form II level of education. The assessment of required level of education was that of employers.

The results of the survey clearly demonstrated the magnitude of the manpower problems facing the country:

ACTUAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF EMPLOYED CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE WITH OR REQUIRING FORM 2 EDUCATION OR ABOVE[3]

1965/66

	Less than Form 2	*Form 2*	*O level*	*Diploma A level*	*Degree*	*Total*
Africans	12,015	7,282	1,516	517	150	21,480
Non-Africans ...	1,853	11,385	11,917	5,933	3,468	34,556
Total ...	13,868	18,667	13,433	6,450	3,618	56,036
Africans as a percentage of total ...	87	39	11	8	4	38

As can be seen, there was an almost entire dependence upon non-Africans at the higher levels, and of the Africans covered by the survey, 57 per cent had a level of education which was considered inadequate by their employers for the jobs which they were undertaking. The above table compares with a total employment (including employers) of 306,000, of whom 271,000 were Africans, and an African population aged 15 to 59 of approximately 1.9 million (a reliable estimate of the size of the labor force is not available).

On the basis of the survey, planned growth in Gross Domestic Product by industry to 1970 and forecasts of G.D.P. to 1980, future projections of high-level manpower requirements in 1970 and 1980 were made. A regression analysis which basically amounted to the use of international comparisons, provided estimates of the relationship between growth in G.D.P. and requirements of educated manpower. Since the method was applied to each industry separately, to the educated section of the labour force only, and to

[3] Under the educational system in Zambia, a child enters grade 1 of primary school at the age of 7. In urban areas, progression through to grade 7 (one grade per year), the final grade in primary school, is automatic. In rural areas, there is a selection at grade 4, and approximately 75 per cent of children progress from grade 4 to grade 5, and thence automatically to grade 7. A selection examination is held in grade 7 for secondary school and approx. 30 per cent of grade 7 enrolments progress to Form 1 of secondary school. A selection examination is held in Form 2 and approximately two-thirds of Form 2 pupils progress to Form 3 and from there continue to complete the full-secondary course which terminates in Form 5. In Form 5, a school leaving examination is taken, termed "O" level. Form 6 no longer exists, at which "A" levels examinations were taken, and entry to the University of Zambia is now at Form 5 level.

required rather than actual educational attainment, it made allowance for industrial changes in employment, changes in the occupational structure within each industry and changes in the educational structure. Although the technique used was relatively refined, the assumptions involved in its use were crude and no particular degree of reliability can be claimed for the results. Resort was made to this method in the absence of a time series of relevant information for Zambia.

In the case of employment statistics, past data was available and was used, together with assumptions on productivity trends and growth in G.D.P., to project employment in 1970. More will be said about this later.

Although the manpower survey provided invaluable information for planning purposes, there was, in the opinion of the writer, one fundamental error in its design which has restricted its value. This was the failure to survey all employees by covering only those with, or considered to require, a Form 2 level of education or above. The Zambian survey, of course, is not unique in this respect. The approach provided the necessary information for planning secondary and higher educational requirements, and training schemes associated with these higher levels, although specifically at the Form 2 level itself, there is reason to doubt whether the use of employers' opinions produced results which were reliable, or in certain cases meaningful. To quote an extreme example, in the manpower report, two persons are recorded from the survey as civil engineers with an actual educational level of Form 2, and one with a level of less than Form 2. In 1970 and 1980, the projections for civil engineers show a requirement of 10 with a Form 2 level of education. Other objections, unfortunately, are less trivial than this, for by excluding the bulk of employees from the survey (the grossed-up survey figures only covered 18 per cent of employees and employers, or if domestic servants were excluded, 21 per cent), then the information available is inadequate for handling a number of manpower problems. In particular, the needs for training of skilled artisans cannot be reliably deduced from the survey, and training needs for semi-skilled workers are not covered at all. Yet currently, shortages of mechanics, electricians and other skilled tradesmen are far more serious than, say, shortages of graduates. It is relatively easier and more economic, to import small numbers of graduates as required, than to hire large numbers of expatriate, skilled artisans. There is also a shortage of semi-skilled workers, such as heavy-duty lorry drivers, and the construction industry, which has expanded enormously under the impact of the development plan, is experiencing great difficulties in finding sufficient numbers of bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, etc. In this industry, only 7 per cent of workers were recorded as having or needing Form 2 or above which seems unlikely even with regard to educational requirements, and is certainly well below training requirements. Information at present being received from the construction industry is confirming this view.

The Development Plan

In spite of the drawbacks of the manpower survey, it nevertheless provided a wealth of information which had never previously been available and provided most of the basic data for the sections of the development plan on manpower, employment and education. In the field of manpower and

employment, the plan states two major objectives for the period 1966-70, namely:

"(i) To provide at least an additional 100,000 wage earning jobs by 1970 and more and better opportunities for a productive life on the land.

(ii) To expand the opportunities for education, training and on-the-job experience so that Zambia can move progressively towards self-sufficiency in skilled and educated manpower."

The basic aims of the education plan are stated to be as follows:

"1. To provide sufficient places for primary education for every child aged seven in Zambia in 1970.

2. To provide opportunities for all upper primary school children in urban primary schools and 75 per cent of children in rural primary schools to complete a seven-year primary course.

3. To improve the quality of primary education by expanding teacher training, and upgrading the standards of existing teachers. To expand secondary schooling to provide the manpower in the numbers and with the skills required for national development. This includes preparing people for higher education, teacher training and technical training as well as for direct entry to employment in the public and private sectors.

4. To provide the resources for the University of Zambia to enrol over 1,600 students in 1970 and develop it to take a leading part in the educational, professional and cultural life of the nation. Professional training in engineering, medicine, agriculture, administration, teaching and law will be started. A broad range of useful research and scholarship will be encouraged and a National Council for Scientific Research established.

5. To develop the facilities for adult education (including classes for women, regional libraries, educational broadcasting) in order that the opportunities of education are available to Zambians of every age in every part of the country. Every agency contributing to education—missions, mines, industry or individuals—is assisting the educational development of the nation and is, therefore, welcomed."

There is no separate section on training as such, but provision is made for training programmes within every sector of the plan. Of the total planned capital expenditure of the public sector, amounting to 563.6 million *Kwacha*[4], a little over 92 million *Kwacha* has been allocated to the provision of educational and training facilities. The aims of the plan with regard to manpower are by no means confined to high-level personnel and, of course, ultimately, the reason for the plan is to improve the standard of living and welfare of the community in general. Much attention has been devoted to the agricultural sector and in all, a sum of 88 million *Kwacha* has been allocated for capital expenditure on agriculture and land. Of this, 5.5 million *Kwacha* has been allocated to training. Additionally, the plan has been broken down into regional programmes to ensure that economic development does not simply occur in those regions which are already relatively more developed.

[4] One *Kwacha* (K) equals $1.4 and 100 *ngwee* equal one *Kwacha*.

A point not mentioned in the plan is that its aims with regard to education refer to the provision of free facilities.

Implementation: Organization

Preparing suitable plans is one matter, implementation is another, and many manpower problems cannot simply be solved by providing new schools, or new training institutions; in fact new problems have frequently been created by such measures.

A number of units within Central Governments are responsible for different aspects of the implementation of manpower plans and policy. Overall responsibility for manpower planning lies with the Office of National Development and Planning which is a part of the Office of the Vice-President. The Manpower Report was produced by this office which checks progress against plans and makes recommendations for necessary changes due to new circumstances. It reviews national manpower requirements and the resources available to meet them, considers and advises government on the manpower aspects of development plans and projects, and advises on priorities for the use of manpower resources.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the primary and secondary schools programme, teacher training, adult education and educational broadcasting and television. The Ministry of Labour is responsible for employment exchanges, industrial relations and the education and occupational assessment services is under its control. This service "matches men and jobs" by testing the true educational level of individuals together with other characteristics, and by undertaking job analysis.

Until recently, trade schools and technical education came under the Ministry of Education and industrial training under the Ministry of Labour. A new department within the Office of the Vice-President is, at the time of writing, being created to take over these as well as responsibility for all other forms of training below graduate level in response to the urgent need for skilled and semi-skilled workers in virtually all fields.

The adult literacy programme falls under the Ministry of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development, as does the Zambia Youth Service, whilst other ministries are responsible for training in their own particular fields, such as agriculture and health.

Besides this, there are a number of units specifically concerned with manpower within government. The Directorate of Civil Service Training is responsible for the co-ordination of all civil service training effort. Within it, there is a Training Development Unit which provides advisory liaison and a practical working service on all matters of in-service or pre-service training, including the development of new programmes and the organisation, preparation and running of new courses. The Staff Inspection and Manpower Utilisation Unit is gradually working its way through the civil service, providing assessments of the numbers and grades of staff required for the efficient and expeditious conduct of the work of the various government departments whilst the Organization and Methods Unit is responsible for other aspects of government efficiency. Questions of recruitment, promotions, transfers and discipline are handled by the Establishment Division and the Public Service Commission.

Zambianisation in the private sector is the responsibility of the Ministry of

Labour, whilst in the civil service it falls under the directorate of civil service training. The issue of work permits is handled by Immigration Department.

Another function of the directorate of civil service training is the allocation of fifth form school leavers and those educated to higher levels. This allocation is not a matter of direction since it is based upon the expressed preferences of scholars, who complete a "Career Preference Form" upon which they state three choices of occupation in order of priority, further stating whether they wish to be in government service, local authority service, the private sector, or whether they have no preference. Although direction is not used, the exercise is nevertheless of value in aiding optimum utilisation of a resource which is currently very scarce.

Overall co-ordination is provided by the Manpower Committee which is chaired by the Vice-President of the Republic and has a membership of four ministers and four senior civil servants. Co-ordination at the operational level has been mainly informal, to date.

Implementation: Progress and Problems

(a) Employment, Earnings and Productivity

There seems little reason to doubt that the objective of the plan to create 100,000 new wage-earning jobs by 1970 will be met, in fact it seems quite probable that substantially more jobs than this will be created. Given that planned rates of economic growth are being achieved then the simple explanation for this is that it is anticipated that productivity will be lower than was allowed in the plan. It should be mentioned that the assumption of achieving planned rates of economic growth is not based upon national income statistics because those for 1967 are not as yet available. However, with the exception of the copper mining industry which, short of a major catastrophe, is expected to make a relatively small contribution to changes in employment, it seems likely that real output targets are being met. Equally, the latest available employment statistics are for September, 1966, just three months after the commencing date of the First National Development Plan. In those three months, employment is recorded as having risen from 313,000 to 333,000. The seasonal trend in employment between June and September is normally, if anything, downwards on account of agricultural employment, and therefore, this is a startling recorded rise. Part of it is probably due to improving coverage in the statistics as opposed to a genuine rise in employment, but it is not possible to quantify this.

Defining change in productivity in the crude, conventional way as the change in real output divided by the change in quantitative labour input, and ignoring elements included such as change in tecniques and equipment which in any case would tend to raise productivity, then a number of factors are apparent in contributing to lower productivity:

(i) The use of job fragmentation as a result of the shortage of adequately educated or skilled personnel with the rapid growth that has occurred in most sectors. One firm, for example, has shown that it is employing Form II in place of Form V persons, because of shortages at Form V level, on clerical duties, in a ratio of 2.4:1, to complete a given volume of work. This also has the effect of increasing the burden on scarce supervisory and management skills.

(ii) The use of job rationalisation, as distinct from (i) *supra* but for the same reason. This involves using skilled workers more efficiently by taking from them tasks which they have performed traditionally, but which can be performed by less-skilled workers. This tends to increase the number of persons required to perform a given volume of work.

(iii) The employment of larger numbers of trainees than normal for purposes of Zambianisation, and, associated with this, larger numbers of training instructors, mainly expatriate.

Although it is not strictly accurate, one can say that, broadly, the above factors tend to increase the employment associated with a given level of output; on the other hand, there are the following factors which tend to reduce the output from a given level of employment and which are also apparent currently in Zambia.

(a) Some loss in efficiency which is to be expected as Zambianisation occurs, until Zambians gain experience in their new jobs. This is normal with new promotions anywhere, but in a period of "isation", there is a higher proportion of newly promoted persons in employment than is normal.

(b) A heavy turnover of Zambian staff in various sectors. Given the combined pressures of the need for Zambianisation and the severe shortage of skilled and educated manpower, many firms are poaching employees by bidding up wages. There also seems to be a fairly heavy turnover of newly-employed school leavers, even though not highly educated, which mainly seems to be a result of their finding that they do not like or are not suited to the jobs they first obtain on leaving school. A certain amount of job inflation does occur here because some firms specifically take on more new employees than they require in the sure knowledge that they will lose many of them, (which could be an additional reason in itself for the heavy turnover).

(c) A heavy turnover of expatriate employees. In part this a result of poaching scarce skills and, as with Zambians, only results in a loss of efficiency insofar as training and experience gained in an existing job are not required in the new job, and insofar as there is some loss of output whilst settling in to a new job, although there are further undesirable effects with regard to wage levels which will be mentioned later. The other element of this turnover is expatriates leaving the country, of their own accord, sooner than is desirable from a national point of view. The outcome of this is either that Zambianisation takes place of necessity, with a person who is not fully competent to undertake the job, or an expatriate, with no previous experience of Zambian social or working conditions and who is frequently less experienced in his work than the person whom he is replacing, has to be engaged. Additionally, continuity in the performance of the job is frequently lost which can be very important in certain occupations.

(d) The use of many expatriates on short-term contracts of two or three years. This is closely allied to (c) above, and is most expensive, not

only in terms of wages, but also fares, loss of continuity, loss of efficiency at the start and end of a contract and the various other factors which tend to make permanent employees preferable to those who are on contract.

(e) A reluctance at times, on the part of expatriate supervisors and managers to exercise their authority and at times a reluctance on the part of Zambians to accept orders from workmates who have been newly promoted. There seems to have been generally a deterioration in quality of supervision.

(f) Indiscipline, idleness and strikes.

Not all of the above factors mentioned are undesirable. Job rationalisation, in particular, is highly desirable. Whilst it may mean greater numbers of men being employed for a given work load, it is more efficient. The employer should benefit in general by producing his output at a lower cost than would otherwise be the case, whilst the nation benefits from the increased employment and more equitable distribution of income thereby resulting; inequity of income distribution being one of the fundamental problems of Zambia. Equally, item (c) above, is a very desirable and necessary investment for the future if current manpower problems are to be solved.

Job fragmentation is not so clear cut. In that certain firms have had no alternative but to make use of it if they were to continue in business or expand, then, in the short-term it has been desirable, but even in the short term it has not been employed without cost to the individuals involved and the nation, and in the long run poses a number of problems. A noticeable effect in the short run is that it has enabled school-leavers to indulge in their preference for "white-collar" jobs. Thus persons with only a Form II level of education have been able to obtain clerical jobs normally reserved for those with a Form V level. So long as clerical jobs are available, it seems that they will be taken in preference to manual jobs. Hence industry has experienced difficulty in recruiting apprentices to train as mechanics, electricians and in other trades, at the Form II level which is the legally required entry level to apprenticeship. Within a few years, the output at Form V level will be sufficient to meet the demand at which time the problem will presumably disappear, since such openings as apprenticeship will be taken by Form II school leavers in preference to being unemployed.

In the meantime the country is desperately short of skilled artisans and what the school leavers seem to fail to realise is that the earnings prospects and career prospects for a skilled artisan are far better than for, say, a Form II person who obtains a job for which he is not well-enough educated, and which will be reserved for Form V level once such people are available; with the result that the prospects of advancement for the Form II man, other than the outstanding one, are negligible. It is easy to see why a clerical post is taken in preference: on the one hand there is the social status attached to going to work in a suit rather than overalls, and additionally there is the fact that the school-leaver will start work as a clerk on anywhere between K50 and K80 per month, whereas an apprentice will only start on 13 ngwee per hour. However, the maximum pay for the clerical post may only be K100 to K120 per month, whereas within six years the successful apprentice can expect to

be making as much as K160 or more per month, with good prospects of increasing significantly beyond this.

As was mentioned, this problem should correct itself in time, but in order to speed up the process, the Ministry of Education is currently engaged in preparing careers pamphlets for schools, which will give information on job content and career and earnings prospects. The first of these should be issued during the course of 1968.

From the point of view of the mechanics of manpower planning, a problem is raised by this feature which can result in a built-in over-estimate of requirements for persons at higher levels of education. Insofar as demand is correctly estimated for say, Form V persons over a period of years, but for a part of the period supply is less than demand and less well educated persons are employed to fill the gap, then the gearing of school output to meet total demand over the period will result in an over supply to the extent that those who are employed with lower qualifications than required, are not replaced. The only way to handle this is to assume that requirements at Form V level will be confined here to replacing normal wastage of the less well-qualified employees.

The remaining factors listed earlier as contributing to lower productivity are clearly undesirable, apart from (a) which is inevitable and should be relatively short-lived. Items (e) and (f) have been examined in public seminars and meetings called by the President of the Republic himself, and the Minister of Labour. Some noticeable improvements have already occurred as a result of this although in certain aspects it is too early to tell what the final effect will be. With regard to items (c) and (d) a new document "The Categorisation of Manpower for the issue of Employment Permits" is now being used by Immigration Department, which it is hoped will speed up the processing of applications for work permits, will grant permits for periods of up to five years in certain specified occupations and may help to lull unnecessary fears of certain expatriates with regard to the country's need for their services for some years to come.

The heavy turnover in skilled and educated personnel is mainly a result of their extreme shortage relative to demand. As training and educational programmes bear fruit then this problem will gradually disappear, and certainly, by 1975, should no longer be a major problem. In the meantime, there may be some possibility of easing the situation with appropriate regulations, and also the associated problem of rapidly rising wage rates. Again, comprehensive and up-to-date statistics are not available on wage rates, but as examples of the order of magnitude of rises which have been occurring, the average monthly wage of a stenographer in the private sector in 1965 was about K140 per month, whereas now, a stenographer can easily make K200 and even up to K300 per month; a skilled auto-mechanic, who in 1965 might have earned from K200 to K260 per month, can now expect to have earnings in excess of K340 per month. It should be mentioned that in the case of stenographers, the obstacle to increasing their supply is English language, the official language of Zambia, and not the ability to type. The possibility of introducing a period of wages restraint has been under consideration by Government for some time. Again, as supply rises to demand, the problem will diminish, but, at the end of it, Zambia will remain a high-wages economy as compared to most other countries in Africa.

(*b*) *The Rural Sector*

The combined influences in the 1970's of an anticipated slower rate of growth in G.D.P., increasing productivity and high earnings, mean that there is no possibility of increasing wage-employment to the extent of growth in the labour force. The only alternative is agriculture, which to date has appeared relatively unattractive to most Zambians. This is not surprising if one looks at the history of the traditional farmer. He has normally experienced a very low standard of living, and even if it were possible for him to produce crops surplus to his requirements, the incentive for him to do so has frequently been lacking, in the form of markets in which he can conveniently sell his produce and spend the income thereby earned. Besides this, such amenities as electricity and water on tap are also lacking, whilst if a person can find a job in a town, then his standard of living automatically rises greatly, and in addition, all of the amenities of town life are available to him.

As against this, the development of agriculture in a country with a vast under or badly utilised land area, offers the most spectacular opening for significant economic development. The development of industry is necessary and desirable, but the rate of economic growth which can be achieved by it is necessarily limited, and is certainly far less than that feasible in agriculture, in which the possibility for increasing surplus production can be measured in multiples of present levels.

This has been recognized in the development plan, both in the regional emphasis of the plan and the funds allocated to agriculture. Another important feature of the plan is the provision of funds for village resettlement, the significance of which is that whereas it is uneconomic to provide a variety of infrastructure and other services for a small village, if villages can be regrouped into larger units, then this becomes feasible, and in addition helps to make the development of a money economy in the area possible.

A number of the agricultural projects started in the plan are showing promise and on the question of attitudes, a "back-to-the-land" campaign has been started by the President; however, it is clear that this will remain a problem in Zambia for many years to come.

(*c*) *Education*

In general, physical enrolment targets given in the development plan are being met, which in itself is a substantial achievement. The growth in school enrolment since independence in 1964, is as follows:

	1964	1965	1966	1967
Primary schools	378,639	410,147	473,432	539,353
Secondary schools	13,853	17,186	24,005	34,139

Implementation of certain planned objectives has been delayed, however, with regard to quality and course content.

It will be appreciated that with the very rapid expansion which has taken place, some deterioration in quality was inevitable, particularly in the primary schools where it was necessary to reduce the length of the primary teacher training course, to which the entry qualification is Form II, to one year. As the rate of expansion slows down, then it will be possible to revert to a two-year course, and perhaps in time, to a three-year course. Teachers are also a problem in the secondary schools which are staffed almost entirely by

expatriates, of whom the supply is uncertain and the turnover rapid, with the additional disadvantage that many of them are relatively inexperienced. Output of teachers from the University of Zambia and the higher teacher training college which has been established will soon be available, but it will take ten or more years befor teaching posts can be fully Zambianised.

The introduction of commercial and practical subjects into the secondary school syllabus is now taking place, and the introduction of agriculture into the primary school syllabus is also under consideration, although, as mentioned earlier, the fundamental problem with regard to agriculture is one of attitudes rather than lack of knowledge. It is unlikely that teachers can change these; examples of success in agriculture are required.

Another problem which is now arising springs from the fact that education creates its own demand for more education. Given the policy aim of universal lower primary education together with near universal upper primary, then the provision of facilities for roughly 30 per cent of students to progress to secondary school from grade 7, is creating wide discontent amongst those not selected. In addition to this, the age at which children leave primary school is declining and shortly they will be, on average, about 14 years old, which will be too young generally for them to be able to find employment. Consideration is now being given to measures to cope with this problem.

(d) Training

This is a difficult field and one into which it is possible to pour large sums of money without an adequate return. The use of modern training methods are, however, essential and particularly at times of severe manpower shortage when traditional methods of training may be too slow and inefficient to meet demand. In particular, in many occupations where training or a part of the training, has normally been on-the-job, the severe shortage of skilled workers means that the latter do not have time to give adequate instruction and supervision to their trainees. Besides this, of course, the fact that skilled workers are not necessarily good teachers means that in certain occupations, particularly those of skilled craftsmen, the traditional system of training never was very efficient.

A great deal of attention is now being devoted to training in Zambia, but to date, it has tended to lack co-ordination and an overall plan. As previously mentioned, a new department responsible for technical education and vocational training is currently being established, which should serve to rectify past faults by rationalising and concentrating the training effort, and should result in a fresh impetus in this field.

An Industrial Training Act is also now in preparation and this should strengthen the arm of the new directorate and lead to greatly improved training facilities within the country. A National Industrial Vocational Training Centre is due to be established during 1968 with the assistance of the I.L.O. This will provide training at various levels and in the case of apprenticeships, the traditional United Kingdom system of five-year apprenticeship will be replaced by a completely revised system of training which it is expected will perform the same basic job as well as or even better than the old, in a three-year course. Besides this, a variety of new training facilities will be provided during the remaining period of the development plan.

The European Development Fund and its Operations with Africa

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Size and Direction of EDF Activities

A DEVELOPMENT FUND for aid to certain overseas countries was originally set up in 1958 to channel aid of the European Economic Community (EEC) – as distinct from the individual bilateral aid programmes of the Six – to those countries associated with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome and the annexed Implementing Convention. Article 131 of the Treaty of Rome states the intention of the Member States of the EEC (Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg) to bring into association with them "the non-European countries and territories which have special relations with Belgium, France, Italy, and the Netherlands" and that "the purpose of this association shall be to promote the economic and social development of the countries and territories . . . " The Treaty of Rome itself is for an unlimited duration but the Implementing Convention is limited to a five-year period and it was in this annexure that the Fund was established. Article I of this Convention states, "A Development Fund for the overseas countries and territories shall be set up, into which the Member States shall during a period of five years pay the annual contributions provided for in Annex A to this Convention". Most, although not all, of the associated countries were in Africa and they were at the time in a state of political dependency on a member of the EEC[1]. The tenure of five years given to the Fund lasted from January 1st, 1958 to December 31st, 1962. Then in 1963 the Yaoundé Convention was signed between the EEC and the eighteen Afro-Malagassy States. It entered into force in June, 1964 and expires on 31st May, 1969. Under Article 16 of this Convention a second Fund was established (known formally as the European Development Fund or EDF) whereby an aggregate amount of $730m. was provided, of which $666m. was to come from the EDF and $64m. from the European Investment Bank. These sums were to enable the EEC to "participate in measures calculated to promote the economic and social development of the Associated States by supplementing the efforts achieved by those States" (Article 15). This Fund was in many ways a continuation of the earlier one but it was larger in size and more varied in its powers and methods of operation.

[1] French Guinea in West Africa was associated under the Treaty of Rome but this association subsequently lapsed. French Somaliland was associated under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome but is not a signatory to the Yaoundé Convention. Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria all have special trade arrangements with France but any aid they may receive from members of the EEC comes under bilateral arrangements and they are not entitled to make use of the EDF.

The resources of the Fund were, as set out in Article 17 of the Convention, to be employed:

"in the field of economic and social investments
—for basic economic and social schemes
—for production schemes of general interest
—for production schemes providing normal financial returns
—for relevant technical assistance before, during, and after such investments.
"In the field of general technical co-operation
—for surveying the development prospects of the economies of the Associated States
—for staff training and vocational training programmes.
"in the field of aids for diversification and production
—for measures essentially intended to make marketing possible at competitive prices on the Community's markets as a whole by encouraging, in particular, rationalisation of cropping and sales methods, and by aiding producers to make the necessary adaptations.
"in the field of price stabilization
—for advances for the purpose of helping to alleviate the effects of temporary fluctuations in world prices".

In financial terms the bulk of its aid is grants ($620m.), but it can give soft loans and also can assist in softening the repayment terms of loans obtained from the European Investment Bank. This Bank was originally designed only for the less developed parts of Europe and it has made loans to Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, and Luxembourg inside the EEC and to Greece and Turkey which have a special association with the EEC. It has now been empowered to expand its activities in a limited way to the extent of $64m. to the Afro-Malagassy associates and a further $6m. to the overseas dependencies of the member states of the EEC.

The African and Malagassy countries which signed the Yaoundé Convention were those which had been associated with the EEC under the Treaty of Rome; and they were by 1963 independent sovereign states. With the exception of Somalia they were all French-speaking. Fourteen of them were ex-dependencies of France, three of Belgium and one, Somalia, a combination of the former British Somaliland and the UN Trusteeship territory of Somaliland which had been under Italian administration. The names of the countries concerned are as follows: the Kingdom of Burundi, Federal Republic of Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of Chad, Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) Congolese Republic (Leopoldville), Republic of Dahomey, Gabon Republic, Republic of the Ivory Coast, Republic of Madagascar, Republic of Mali, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Republic of Niger, Republic of Rwanda, Republic of Senegal, Republic of Somalia, Republic of Togo, Republic of Upper Volta.

Other African countries are also associated with the EEC but not under the Yaoundé Convention. Nigeria's association is on special terms as set out in the Treaty of Lagos. This was signed in 1966 and is due for re-negotiation in May, 1969. This Treaty is essentially a trade treaty and Nigeria does not receive any financial or technical assistance from the EDF. The East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have also signed an agreement on association covering the period up to May, 1969. It is unlikely that ratification by all the countries concerned will take place before it

expires. Like the Nigerian Treaty this agreement is also primarily concerned with trade. However, on May 31st, 1969 the Yaoundé Convention associating eighteen Afro-Malagassy states, the Treaty of Lagos associating Nigeria, and the Treaty of Arusha associating Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda will come to an end. What new arrangements are then made will have a major impact on the interests of 130 million Africans and their relations with Europe.

During the whole of the ten-year period in which the first and second Funds have operated they have been empowered to disburse $1,350m. the bulk of which has been earmarked for Africa. The Fund is thus one of the most experienced of the many organizations that provide financial and technical assistance to Africa and also one of the largest, with resources for Africa at its disposal that exceed all other individual donors' except France and Britain. If one takes the associated Afro-Malagassy countries as a whole – amounting to some 60 million people or little more than one-fifth of the population of Africa – one can see that they are a somewhat favoured group with regard to the amount of aid they receive.

In comparison with British aid to Africa – most of which goes to English-speaking African countries in the Commonwealth – it should be noted that the EDF is empowered to dispose of aid funds at an average rate of £45m. a year which is over half that of the substantial British aid programme to Africa. With ten years' operating experience behind it the EDF has given approval to expenditure on nearly 600 projects – 382 projects under the first Fund (this commits all its resources) and 212 projects under the second Fund (committing over half its resources). All in all the frequently heard observation that the EDF is un unimportant marginal organization is a complete myth. It is in fact a major donor for Africa and this alone justifies detailed study of its operations. But size is not everything and what makes the EDF of special interest is not just the size of its activities but the character of them.

Long-term Commitments

Looking first at the origin of its resources it is significant that contributions to it are fixed for a five-year period. The size of the contribution by the member states is laid down in advance. The table below shows the amounts provided by the individual members of the EEC and the proportions of the total for the two five-year periods.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDF

	First Fund		*Second Fund*	
	$m.	%	$m.	%
Belgium	70.0	12.0	69.0	9.5
Germany	200.0	34.4	246.5	33.8
France	200.0	34.4	246.5	33.8
Italy	40.0	6.9	100.0	13.7
Luxembourg	1.25	0.2	2.0	0.3
Netherlands	70.0	12.0	66.0	9.0
	581.25	100.0	730.0	100.0
European Investment Bank			70.0	
			800.0	

Of the $800m., $64m. from the member states' contribution and $6m. from the European Development Bank is earmarked not for the Afro-Malagassy states associated under Yaoundé but for the *Pays, Territoires et Départments d'Outre-Mer*, i.e. those territories still in a state of political dependency on a member of the EEC. French Somaliland receives aid under this head.

It can be seen that the main contributors are France and Germany, each of which provides approximately a third of the Fund's resources. The Italian contribution was small for the first period. Italy maintained that it had to conserve its resources for development in the economically backward southern half of its own country and thus could not take on heavy obligations to overseas countries. However, for the second period there is a substantial increase in its contribution and this reflects partly its growing prosperity within the framework of the EEC but also its historic interest in Africa. The absolute drop in contributions from the Netherlands is a reflection of the effect of the removal of West Irian from the Fund's responsibilities[2].

The long-term commitment that the Fund requires from its subscribers is a boon. Those who contribute and those who receive are given an opportunity for constructive long-term planning with assured financial support. Thus the somewhat unsavoury, unhelpful, time-consuming debates that surround yearly appropriation for aid – in practice these debates are taking place throughout the whole of each year, with the next round of haggling beginning the moment the previous one is completed – are avoided. The danger of inflexibility in the use of the Fund's resources is, under these arrangements a real one, but unforeseen requirements can in some degree be met by a contingency item. But more relevant here is the fact that the Fund is intended not to supplant bilateral aid, but to supplement it so there is full scope for aid arrangements to be negotiated outside the Fund itself, and in co-operation with the Fund[3]. This includes joint operations with multilateral and bilateral aid organizations and with private capital. Also, use is being made of Development Banks in Africa to assist in financing industrial projects. The experience of the Fund in the field of joint-financing is particularly interesting and the problems it has encountered show up vividly how easy it is to talk about the importance of aid co-ordination and how difficult it is to put it into practice. Because it is prepared to support local costs, while most other organizations support through tied aid only the foreign exchange content of a project, the Fund is vulnerable to pressures which would result in its carrying virtually the whole "local cost element" in a joint undertaking. Further difficulties are encountered through the different financial procedures adopted by the various aid giving organizations. So complex has this become that on any joint financing operation a different agreement has to be entered into for almost every project.

What is important, however, is that the value of long-term assistance to developing countries is not only recognized but acted on. But once a state has made its contribution to the Fund, control over its use is not exercised by the individual contributors, but by the various supra-national institutions

[2] Netherlands New Guinea was associated under the Treaty of Rome in 1958 but this ceased in 1963 when New Guinea achieved independence as a part of Indonesia.

[3] See Charles Van der Vaeren "Les facteurs internationaux de la Coordination de l'aide". *CAFRAD Études No. 1A*, May, 1967.

associated with the EEC and with the Fund itself. Thus the fears of less developed countries over possible political influence through the receipt of financial aid are to some extent circumscribed. True there is a clearly identifiable liaison with a particular group of European countries and as such the almost wholly impersonal character of World Bank funds is less obvious; but even so the national interests or idiosyncracies of donors are distilled over six countries with a consequent diminution of bilateral influence and control.

It must be recognized that the basic political decision of whether to give aid to a particular country or not has already to a large extent been settled before the Fund starts its operations. The flow of aid is channelled to eighteen states which have been pre-selected. Even within this group nearly a third of the Fund's resources ($230m.) is allocated on a country-by-country basis for what is described as "Production and Diversification". The actual breakdown for each country is set out in a Protocol to the Yaoundé Convention. This states that eleven states – those that are considered to be able to withstand the abolition of price support for the exports of their primary commodities in the markets of the EEC only gradually – are allocated $183m. over the five-year period as follows:—

	$m.		$m.
Cameroon	15.8	Ivory Coast	46.7
Central African Republic	6.8	Madagascar	31.6
Chad	5.7	Mali	5.6
Congo (Brazzaville)	6.4	Niger	6.5
Dahomey	5.5	Senegal	46.7
		Togo	5.7

Three countries – deemed likely to be able to face competition of world prices after a short period – are allocated $15m. These are:

	$m.
Gabon	4.0
Mauritania	5.0
Upper Volta	6.0

Four countries – those able to withstand competition at once – receive $32m. These are:

	$m.
Burundi	5.25
Congo (Leo)	15.00
Rwanda	5.25
Somalia	6.50

EDF and Politics

A major effort, indeed, has been made to create a framework within which alleged political strings on bilateral aid are virtually excluded. Even so the EDF has not been able to render itself immune to charges of political involvement. Dr. Pius Okigbo, who was the Nigerian Ambassador at Brussels and responsible for his country's negotiations for association with the EEC, has maintained in a book published since the completion of the negotiations that Nigeria did not seek aid from the Fund precisely because it wanted to

avoid multilateral political influences.[4] It is not clear why such alleged influence on a multilateral basis should be less acceptable than possible unwanted influence through bilateral aid. Nor is it clear what sort of political influences Dr. Okigbo had in mind. Crude attempts to use aid for political leverage, both in regard to a recipient's domestic affairs or in relation to its international actions, have been singularly unsuccessful and it is unlikely that the EDF would be naive enough to embark on that slippery slope. In fact the political characteristics of the individual associated Afro-Malagassy countries is one of extreme diversity. The Ivory Coast has an economy that is based very much on the private sector and a Head of State – Mr. Houphouët-Boigny – who is a major protagonist of close association with France and the French culture. In Mali there is a very different situation. There is a strong desire to loosen ties with France and to build up new links, particularly with the socialist countries of the world. Inside the country state industries have been set up and Mali is one of the main African recipients of communist aid. Mali, Somalia, Mauritania, and Congo (Bra) have diplomatic relations with Mainland China while twelve of the rest recognize Taiwan.

With regard to the two Germanies, the Federal Republic of West Germany attempted at one stage to ensure that money from the EDF should not be spent in those associates which recognized Eastern Germany. This, however, was not accepted by the EEC as a whole and disbursements from the Fund are made even in those associates which have dealings with East Germany.[5] Where aid receivers have suffered is that they too frequently find themselves as disposable pawns in the international chess games of the economically advanced countries. The political and economic problems of donors, whether domestic or international, affect the flow of aid to a marked degree and it was precisely this political volatility of aid that was one of the factors that led to President Nyerere's Arusha Declaration, with its emphasis on self-reliance, the rejection of money as a major instrument of development and the feeling that dependence on outside assistance endangers the independence of the recipient.

Countries receiving aid from the EDF are shielded from fluctuations in aid flows through changes in the climate of diplomatic relations or through domestic, economic and political problems of the donor. Indeed, it is this very inflexibility over the control of the flow of aid that sometimes causes concern for the providers of aid. An extreme view of this has recently been expounded by Mr. Jacob Kaplan, formerly of the US AID administration, who has argued that, "If the United States were to turn all – or a large part – of its capital assistance funds over to the World Bank, it would therefore drastically limit its own influence over non-economic matters of considerable importance to itself and to the claimant countries. The United States suspended aid deliveries to India and Pakistan after the outbreak of fighting

[4] It seems that this point was not made during the negotiations themselves. The official line adopted by Nigeria then was that aid from the Fund was not pressed for because it was recognised that this would create complications with the existing associates.

[5] Congo (Bra), Friendship association and Trade agreement; Dahomey, cultural co-operation and Trade agreement; Mali, Trade representation, cultural and scientific co-operation, Trade agreement.

in 1965. The Bank felt precluded from similar action, fearing that its reputation as a banking rather than a political institution would be jeopardised. The incident should give pause to those who would transfer all or most of US aid to the World Bank. The South Asian fighting might have accelerated into a full-scale war had both sides felt assured of continued foreign aid".[6]

This places far too great an emphasis on the importance of short-term domestic political interests and ignores the damage that such considerations can cause to those very countries it is the express object of aid to help. But the fact remains that donors do like to retain some control over their aid operations and they object to a vague commitment of resources without being reasonably clear as to how it will be spent and – even more important – where it will be spent. This inability to control the geographical direction of aid is probably one of the main reasons why the French Government has not shown great enthusiasm for enhanced support of the World Bank for once a contribution has been made, the donor has no control over its allocation. On current form the bulk of its resources goes to India and Pakistan. This ties in well with the direction of the British aid programme where high priority is also given to these countries. But for France, India and Pakistan are not regarded as areas of major French concern and it is thus hardly surprising that their attachment to IDA (the International Development Association "soft" loan arm of the World Bank) is less warm than ours. If the bulk of IDA funds went to Algeria, Indonesia and Thailand the UK might be less inclined to back it as much as it does. Thus on the one hand there is the reality of a donor desire to be able to control the direction of its aid and on the other hand a recipient desire to want certainty in its receipt of aid. Bilateral aid seems to place all the power in the hands of the donor, multilateral aid through the United Nations takes all the power from him. The way the EDF has been designed does however seem to provide an ingenious middle-of-the-road approach. The contributors do not surrender all control. The member-states of the EEC know in advance which countries are eligible for the aid provided: the eighteen Afro-Malagassy Associates. They know too in what general areas of activity the Fund's resources will be spent.

Further, they know that contracts for work undertaken with EDF financial support will be tendered for within the EEC and the eighteen Associated States. Article 25 of the Yaoundé Convention states that, "As regards operations financed by the Fund or by the Bank, participation in the letting out of contracts, invitations for tenders, purchasing and other contracts shall be open, on equal terms to all natural and legal persons who are nationals of the Member States or the Associated States". The *de jure* position is somewhat different, however, from the *de facto* one which still exhibits a strong French hold over contracts. Germany indeed, which supplies a third of the Fund's resources, has found it gets less than 10 per cent of the contracts. An estimate for disbursement to the 31st December, 1966, indicated that 44 per cent of all contracts awarded had been taken up by French enterprises, 13 per cent by Italian, 9 per cent by German, 5 per cent by Dutch, 3 per cent by Belgian, and 3 per cent by Luxembourg and 1 per

[6] *The Challenge of Foreign Aid – Policies, Problems, and Possibilities*, by Jacob J. Kaplan, Page 366. Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

cent by third countries. It is significant, however, that 25 per cent were awarded to enterprises in the Associated States.[7] The strong pull in many of the associated African countries of the French language, of taste for French goods, of personal contacts with France, of familiarity with French administrative and commercial procedures, of the workings of the *Zone Franc*, and of influence by the many French technical assistance experts working in Africa has ensured that the dominant French position has been maintained in this field. But it would be a misreading of the situation to maintain that French links alone have been the cause of the particular pattern of contracts. Until recently many firms outside France did not have the experience required for overseas work and hence either did not compete or were unable to make a successful bid. Also, business inside Europe itself has been buoyant (particularly in Germany) and thus there has been no incentive to search out new opportunities in Africa. This is now all changing – the Italians for example are most anxious to win contracts – but to insist on some sort of equitable distribution of contracts among the Six themselves on the basis of a country quota would be clearly most inequitable for the associated countries.

Institutions of Association

The institutions related to the Fund and set up under Title IV of the Yaoundé Convention consist of the Parliamentary Conference, the Council of Association, the Association Committee and the Court of Arbitration. They are still in a very early phase of development but if allowed to exercise real authority they have the potential for a substantial advance in the sensitive area of donor-recipient relations. The objects are to enable the eighteen associated Afro-Malagassy countries to play a constructive role at all phases of the aid operation. It is worth emphasizing here that the Second Fund itself was born out of long negotiations between the EEC and Eighteen, and was created by the Yaoundé Convention which bears the signatures of 24 sovereign states. It was not "donor-constructed" and then offered to the reciepients as a *fait accompli*. It would be naive to suggest that the negotiations were conducted on a basis of equality. Donors who hold the purse strings have powers that recipients do not possess. This is the reality of the situation. But it would be equally naive to maintain that the form and purposes of the EDF reflect simply the wishes of the donors: the associates themselves played a substantial role in shaping it. The institutions of association which form part of the Yaoundé Convention—but not of the first association agreement which was imposed while the Afro-Malagassy countries concerned were still dependencies of France or another European member of the EEC – were established at the express wish of the Eighteen. The negotiated origin of the Fund has continued into its actual working operations and the institutions that have been created provide a framework for a continuing influence by the Eighteen in the actual operations of the Fund. There is in fact heartening evidence that something resembling a joint approach by the Eighteen is being developed and thus contributing to closer co-operation among African states. But this healthy process is by no means simply one-way. The EEC also have a long way to go in their quest

[7] *Problèmes Africains*, 25th April, 1967.

for unity and the impact of the Eighteen Afro-Malagassy States on Europe in generating a more cohesive attitude by the Six towards Africa and overseas aid should not be underestimated. This is apparent not only in the work of the institutions of the association but in the day to day business that is conducted. The fact that contracts for work undertaken by the EDF are open to all members of the Six has resulted in a much closer relationship among the firms of the European countries concerned.

The Parliamentary Conference meets once a year (this is a statutory obligation) with 54 representatives nominated by the Parliaments of the associated states (three from each) and 54 representatives of the European Parliaments. During the first period of association there was no Parliamentary Conference. But within the EEC itself the European Parliament has played a role of great importance in stimulating ideas and action in a whole variety of fields. It was, in fact, inside the European Parliament that the first initiatives were made for a renewal of the association arrangements. This resulted in a working group of members of the European Parliament meeting a similar group of members of the Parliaments of the Associated States in January, 1961. Later in that year a meeting of European and African Parliamentarians was convened at Strassbourg to discuss the principle of a new system of association. Since the Strassbourg Conference the working party has continued to meet and is convened now under the title of the *Commission Paritaire* which was formally established in the 1964 Dakar meeting when the Parliamentary Conference met for the first time[8]. The second Parliamentary Conference met in Rome in 1965, the third in Abidjan in 1966, and the fourth in 1967 at Strassbourg. The Conference receives each year a report on the workings of the Association presented by the Association Council. This is a valuable survey covering all aspects of the system of association. The third Report included such matters as the work of the Institutions, progress on elimination of tariffs and the suppression of quantitative restrictions, problems arising out of competition between products from the Associated States and from the EEC, definition of the notion *produits originaires*, the working of financial and technical co-operation, right of establishment, co-operative measures arising from the international cocoa agreement and from UNCTAD, the situation with regard to association between the EEC and East Africa. All in all a survey of matters of major substance to the relevant parties.[9] It is empowered to vote on resolutions. The Conference is in fact little more than a debating assembly, but it should not be decried for that. There is no such comparable institution in the British aid programme and it is useful to compare Parliamentary Debates in the Association Conference with those in the British Parliament. The Debates in the House of Commons or House of Lords on Aid are by their nature wholly donor-oriented, with those not well disposed towards aid lined up against those who support it. British domestic issues such as balance of payments problems, export promotion, local market disruption through low cost import from less developed countries, the views of the local electorates are fully discussed. These issues are not unimportant and

[8] Vide J. J. Van der Lee "Association Relations Between the European Economic Community and African States". *African Affairs*. July, 1967.

[9] *Troisieme Rapport Annuel D'Activite du Conseil d'Association à la Conference Parlementaire de l'Association*. Mimeograph, Bruxelles, 1967.

it is right that they should be debated; but they are not the only factors to be taken into account. Those for whom assistance is provided are also part of the jigsaw, indeed the most important part, and in a positive not a passive sense. This has been recognized on a world platform through the UNCTAD conferences; but before the first UNCTAD met at Geneva in 1964 the EEC and the Eighteen had acknowledged the importance of donors and recipients working in joint harness whenever this was possible. Even if the Parliamentary Conference of Association has no executive or legislative power, it, like UNCTAD, has the power of influence and not least through providing an institutional framework for continuing mutual education in what must be, for success, a programme of mutual operations. The Parliamentary Conference is served by a Permanent Secretariat or Committee, (not to be confused with the Association Committee which assists the Council) consisting of eighteen members of the associated countries (one per state) and eighteen representatives from Europe.

The Council of Association also meets once a year. The first meeting was held in 1964 in Brussels and it is normal for these gatherings to take place alternatively in Brussels and in an associated country. It is expected that in 1968 the meeting will be in Congo Kinshasa. The Council consists of representatives of the EEC Council of Ministers and of the Commission of EEC who together sit as one group, and one representative from each of the associated states, who sit collectively as another group. The Association Council as a whole consists of 25 persons. Decisions are taken by what is described as "common accord" of the two groups, with each side agreeing on how to reach a common view. Decisions have to be unanimous. The powers of the Council are restricted to definitions of the "general orientation of aid policy". The Commission itself through the Directorate-General of Development Aid submits a report to the Council (as required under Article 27 of the Yaoundé Convention). This is a valuable document and that of March, 1968 describes how the principles contained in the general guidelines laid down by the Association Council have been applied in practice. In the opinion of the Report, "The patterns laid down (by the Association Council) contribute an important policy-making act, serving not only as guidelines for Community Aid to the Associated African States and Madagascar (AASM) but also as a set of rules which govern the role to be played by the AASM in supplementing this aid, and so providing a charter of co-operation for the development of the Associated States."[10] The main influence of the Parliamentary Conference is in fact on the Commission rather than on the Association Council and it is especially influential during the period when the question of the renewal of the association agreements is up for active consideration. The conclusions reached at the third meeting of the Council at Tananarive are extremely interesting. Those concerning *l'orientation generale de la co-operation financiere et technique* were made in the form of a resolution covering a large number of points, including reference to the desirability of investing EDF funds in the most productive sectors of the economy, stress on the importance of diversifying the economies of associates, encouragement of those projects of interest to two or more

[10] *Report to the Association Council on Financial and Technical Co-operation in* 1967. Commission of the European Communities. Directorate-General for Development Aid. March 1968. Page 1.

African states, awareness of the need to take account of the burden of a project's recurrent costs on the budget of a country.

The Committee which assists the Council is composed of one representative of each member State of the EEC, one representative of the EEC Commission and one representative of each Associated State. The Association Council may, when it wishes, delegate to the Committee the exercise of those powers entrusted to it.

The duties of the Court of Arbitration are to make judgements concerning the interpretation or application of the Yaoundé Convention should a dispute arise among members of the EEC and the Associated States. In the first instance such disputes are considered by the Association Council but if an amicable agreement cannot be reached, the issue can then be taken to the Court of Arbitration. The Court itself consists of five members: a President appointed by the Association Council, two judges appointed by the Council of the EEC, and two appointed by the Associated States. The Court acts by majority vote.

All of this is extremely useful. The real administration of the Fund, however, is conducted by the officers of the Fund itself sitting in Brussels, who are responsible directly to the EEC Commission, which itself operates under the Council of Ministers of the Six. The Commission consists of fourteen members nominated by the EEC. The present President is M. Jean Rey, who succeeded Professor Hallstein. It is divided into a number of working groups, one of which is designated the External Relations and Aid Development Group. This is currently presided over by M. Henri Rochereau, a member of the Commission. The Commission is served by a secretariat divided into various General Directorates, of which one is for Aid to Development. The Director General, Herr Heinrich Hendus, presides over four divisions: General Affairs, Development Studies, the EDF, and Trade. The Fund is directed by M. Ferrandi, under whom there are three divisional Directors, one dealing with programmes, one with technical operations, and one with finance. The division concerned with programmes is sub-divided into sections with responsibilities for a group of West African countries, a group of Central African countries, for the Indian Ocean (including Madagascar and Somalia) and Antilles, for Aid Co-ordination, and for the Secretariat of the Committees of the EDF. The Technical Division is sub-divided under the five main heads of Agriculture, Buildings, Civil Engineering, Industrialization, and Administrative Co-ordination. The Financial Division is sub-divided into Financial Studies, Tenders and Markets, Ordering, and Accounts. It seems, therefore, that there is a direct line of responsibility within the Commission of the EEC, while the various institutions of association operate not as links in the chain, but as ancillary bodies. There is, however, an "extra-Commission" involvement in the decision-making process: decisions on aid projects are taken not exclusively by the Fund itself but the EDF committee. This committee consists of representatives from each of the Six European states together with representatives from the EEC Commission who provide the President and Secretary. The European Investment Bank sends an observer. There are no members from the Associated States. Voting in the committee is weighted in proportion to members' contributions to the Fund (France 33, Germany 33, Italy 14, Belgium 10, Netherlands 9, Luxembourg 1). A

two-thirds majority is required for most decisions. There are however two matters for which unanimity is essential: loans to private undertakings and grants-in-aid of interest on loans from the European Investment Bank. Should there be a difference of view between the EDF committee and the Commission, a final decision is taken by the EEC Council on the basis of a qualified majority vote with weighting as on the EDF committee. The institutional arrangements that have been established for the association of the Afro-Malagassy states with the Six are complex and far reaching. How they evolve, what their relationship with each other will be and what power each will ultimately acquire is of the utmost importance.

EDF Representation in Africa

The importance of aid representation overseas has become increasingly obvious to all major donors and the position of the EDF in this respect has shown a number of interesting and significant developments. The UN Resident Representative for Development Programme Technical Assistance, the World Bank Regional Offices, the US AID Mission, which is separate from the American Embassy, the French *Mission Permanent d'Aide et de Coopération*, British aid representation through the diplomatic missions, British Development Divisions, each has its advantages and disadvantages, but each has a crucial role to play in the whole aid relationship. So far as the EDF is concerned, once a project has been agreed on a project manager is appointed who, for the purpose of the project, becomes the EDF representative. The EDF representative is not like an FAO project manager, who is responsible only for one particular project, but more like a UN Resident Representative with control over all the projects being supported by the EDF. *De jure* they have to leave when a project or projects are completed, but they do sometimes continue *en poste* after the completion of the project. The EDF can send a representative only when a project has been started. There is therefore an understandable desire on the part of the EDF to have at least one project under way in each associated country in order to qualify for representation there. By the end of 1967 there were eighteen representatives or supervisors, one in each Associated State. Their duties are to ensure that the provisions of the Yaoundé Convention and its implementing regulations are observed when investment schemes and training programmes are being carried out; and to prevent technical errors from being made in the execution of investment schemes. Indeed, this "technical" nature of their work has been regarded as one of their main strengths. "European aid is fundamentally *technical* in character. It is not represented in Africa by diplomats but by technical supervisors. The nationality of these supervisors, experts, engineering consultants, agronomists and architects is always carefully intermixed. Team spirit and group cohesion are not always perfectly achieved, but if they must choose between types of aid, of which none is perfect, the developing countries see less danger in a certain technocracy than in the monolithic nature of politically inspired assistance.[11]

There is no doubt that the technical limitation on their work can be of immense value and there are certain similarities here between the EEC

[11] André Auclert, "Le Développment Economique des Etats Africains et les Relations avec la Communauté Economique Européene". Paper presented to the American Society of International Law, Washington, October, 1967.

Supervisors and the British Middle East Development Division. "Its main role," as described in an ODI study, "has been that of technical assistance rather than aid management, for which responsibility remains with the British Diplomatic Missions, although the two crucially overlap. Its strength has been the result of a number of factors. Firstly, although openly and clearly a British governmental organisation, it has not been directly associated with political representation. Even at the time of Suez it was able to continue its work. Thus, although operating within the overall political framework of British interests it has not been forced to suspend its work in the light of ephemeral and transitory political moods. Secondly, there has been continuity in its professional staff which has meant that a corps of highly experienced and knowledgeable people has been built up who can offer real authority – and hence all the more acceptably for that – advice and guidance both to the British Government and its Diplomatic Missions and to Middle Eastern governments. Thirdly, the staff spend all their time on problems of economic development. They thus have time to be out in the field, to undertake expert surveys and to be in constant touch with the many organizations both official and otherwise concerned with aid and development."[12]

The EDF occupies a position that qualifies it to play this sort of role if it could be given the opportunity of building up a similar overseas organization. This is particularly important for a capital assistance fund which looks to specific projects to finance, but which has no right of initiative over selecting projects and which must wait for requests for assistance from the Associated States themselves. The EDF has in fact come up against the familiar problem of how to support projects, the plans of which are in only an embryonic state of readiness. To deal with this, technical assistance and advice is given for the preparation of dossiers for application for support, but the position is still far from satisfactory. Among the criteria that are used in deciding whether or not to give support are the urgency of the needs to be satisfied, the likely increment of productivity that will result from the project when completed, the extent to which it will contribute to diversification of the economy, and how big a role it can play in promoting regional co-operation. The committee wishes to satisfy itself that the project is being promoted in an appropriate context of the overall development plan of the country concerned. It is precisely at this point that overseas representatives can be so valuable.

Where the EDF representation falls short of what might be achieved is firstly that it is linked to specific projects and thus cannot enter into a dialogue on development issues outside the project. Indeed, the representative's responsibilities are limited to projects only once they have started and discussions and negotiations on new embryonic projects not yet agreed on are outside his field of competence. Secondly, the main responsibilities are in the area of procedures and accounting which, although important in themselves, are not the only issues of significance on which an overseas representative has a vital contribution to make, and in which strictly technical matters are not the only ones to be taken into account. Even so the actual machinery of aid operations is a highly complex operation and there is an

[12] *Aid Management Overseas*, by Tom Soper, Overseas Development Institute, 1967.

obvious need for experienced officials to assist in trying to ensure that it will run smoothly and swiftly. Delays between commitments and disbursements have been considerable. This is something that is a cause of worry in almost all aid operations anywhere in the world and it should be remembered that the EDF has rather special problems to cope with here. For example, in getting tenders for contracts twenty-four countries are involved and each must be given a fair chance to make a bid for the work involved. All in all the work of the supervisor is now becoming much more significant and shows an immense advance on the situation under the first few years of the Fund's operations, during which France initially would not allow even a visiting mission from the EEC to set foot in her dependent associated countries.

Training Programmes

The importance of combining capital aid and technical assistance has been fully recognized by the Fund. Aid, as has been noted, is project tied, but when assistance for a project is given, it is possible to support the project in its entirety. Thus, in addition to financial provision for the foreign exchange cost of imports, local costs of the project during its establishment are also covered. In addition carefully oriented training programmes are undertaken with specific reference to the project itself. In 1966/67 1,663 scholarships were given to nationals of associated countries, covering general training and a further 300 received training directly linked to a project. In this area of training there has been great scope for the development of "third country training". Under the British system this has been actively discouraged. A trainee supported by British aid funds must be trained either in the United Kingdom or in his own country. There are exceptions to this, but they are limited. The general rule which is normally adhered to restricts the place of training to a choice of two countries: Britain and the country in receipt of assistance. Training supported through the EDF however has no such rigid limitations. The choice is open to twenty-four countries: the Six in Europe and the eighteen Afro-Malagassy states. Indeed if there is no suitable place inside the EEC and the Associated States for the training to be undertaken, then it can be done outside the twenty-four. A particularly interesting scheme which has great potential is one under which senior Government officials of the associated countries work for periods of from four to nine months with members of the Commission staff in Brussels. This has many advantages: it provides African civil servants with an opportunity to work alongside European civil servants who at this point of time have greater experience. The scheme known as the *Programme de Stages* has been in operation since 1960 and by May, 1968 over 100 *stagiaires* had passed through. Each course lasts five months (there are two courses a year) and nine *stagiaires* attend each of the courses, giving, in theory, an opportunity for one national from each Associated State to come in the course of the year. In addition to the Eighteen two other places are offered: one for French dependencies overseas and one from either Surinam or the Dutch Antilles. The *stagiaires* participate in the work of the Commission and where possible are allotted to those desks that have responsibilities towards the country from which they themselves come and which are dealing with those subjects they have a particular interest in. *Le stagiaire est affecté à l'un ou l'autre des services de la Commission et, bien*

entendu, principalement à la Direction générale dè Developpment de l'outre-mer. S'il est fonctionnaire au Ministère du Plan, il aura choisi – ou son Gouvernement l'aura fait pour lui – la Direction du Fonds européen de developpment; s'il est fonctionnaire dans l'Administration des douanes, il sera plutot intéressé par les problemes des échanges commerciaux et des tarifs douaniers; s'il est juriste ou diplomate, il désirera se pencher sur les questions institutionnelles, etc. . . . Le stagiaire peut du rest être affecté successivement à deux services différents.

Mais le programme ne se limite pas à ces objectifs. Il s'agit de donner à nos collègues associés, non seulement une formation dans les secteurs qui les intéressent plus particulièrement, mais aussi de les informer sur d'autres problèmes ayant trait à l'Association et, d'une façon plus générale, au Marché Commun. C'est pourquoi, de temps à autre, sont organisès des seminaires réunissant tous les stagiaires, seminaires au cours desquels les différentes activités de la Commission sont exposées et commentées par des fonctionnaires des services compétents."[13]

Any thought that such people might have access to embarrassing files of direct relevance to the relations between the EEC and the associate country concerned is quite alien to the scheme. In fact the idea of overseas persons working in the offices of a European organization is a natural successor to the system that had previously been in force under the first association agreement of the Treaty of Rome, which was itself directly influenced by the French colonial system. Any person from any part of the French Empire who had acquired French citizenship was entitled to be considered for work in the French civil service in Paris or elsewhere. The effect of this was that there were many Africans working in French ministries in Paris. When the first association arrangements under the Treaty of Rome were put into force the French associates were still dependencies and thus there was no change in the system giving Africans the chance of working as civil servants in Paris. By the time the Yaoundé Convention was signed independence had been achieved by the African countries concerned and thus the relevant African civil servants no longer held French citizenship. But the principle of an African presence had for so long been established that it was an easy next step to have a training programme that brought trainees over to the EEC Headquarters to work for a limited period in the offices of the Commission. This not only gives the *stagiaires* an opportunity of getting some familiarity with the machinery of administration in Brussels, it also makes them personally acquainted with many of the officials, with consequential advantages in communication when they return to their own countries. It would be wrong to make too much of the scheme. The *stagiaires* work for only about two months in the EEC offices (the rest of the time being spent on seminars and travel in other countries of the Six) and only eighteen people come every year. Even so the principle is very sound and it would be of great interest if the British Government were to operate a pilot scheme whereby African civil servants from Commonwealth African countries could be attached for a period of some months in the ODM working at operational desks alongside their British opposite numbers.

Conclusions

This paper has concentrated on a number of aspects of the work of the EDF, in particular the long-term nature of its commitments, the extent to

[13] *Courrier de l'Association*, August 1967. EEC, Brussels.

which political influences have been reduced, the institutional framework within which a dialogue between aid givers and receivers can take place, the role of overseas representation, the experience of joint undertakings, and the system of training. In all these spheres the EDF has acquired much experience and has made most original contributions. Not least has been the way in which aid has been conceived as part of an integrated package of economic and technical co-operation. This integration, however, does not end there. A large part of the Yaoundé Convention is concerned with not economic and technical assistance narrowly defined but with the trade relationships between the EEC and the eighteen Afro-Malagassy States. This aspect is beyond the scope of the present article [14] but the significance of an association comprising a closely knit and consistent trade and aid regime, with trade and aid matters co-ordinated under unified institutions, should not be overlooked. There are some lessons here for the Commonwealth, whose institutions might well form the basis for a Commonwealth aid operation distinct from the existing bilateral programmes and set in a framework which gives both richer and poorer members of the Commonwealth the chance of working out together a system of economic and technical co-operation.

[14] For an analysis of this see Sir William Gorell Barnes *Europe and the Developing World*, Chatham House and PEP, 1967, and Tom Soper "A Note on European Trade with Africa", *African Affairs*, April, 1968.

The Indian Foreign Service

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ADMINISTRATIVE policy has two aspects – formulation and implementation – and both are equally important. A well formulated policy may fail to achieve its objectives because of faulty and inefficient implementation. The main responsibility for the implementation of a policy falls on the shoulders of the permanent career service which operates the administrative machine in accordance with the policy established by the government of the day. The primary responsibility for the formulation of policy lies on the political leaders who, in this task, are assisted, informed, advised and influenced by the permanent civil service. No worthwhile policy can be formulated without proper information about facts and their expert and critical interpretation. This task is performed by the civil service. The civil servants supply the facts and advise the ministers on what they consider to be the best courses of action. In this process the civil servants exercise a great influence on ministers and their policy formulation. In the ultimate analysis, the final policy decisions are to be taken by the political chief in a democratic system. If a policy goes wrong or its results go against the national interests, the political leader is held responsible for it. He gets bouquets as well as brickbats for his policies.[1]

For performing its multifarious functions, the government of a country employs civil servants in the various branches of its service. One such important branch in India is the Foreign Service. The foreign service functions both at Headquarters and at the Foreign Missions of the country. While working at home, the foreign service manages and administers the Foreign Office; while working in the Missions of the country abroad, it is expected faithfully to implement the foreign policy of its country. While serving abroad, it remains in constant touch with its headquarters for receiving instructions and guidance. It also sends reports and information to headquarters on the basis of which the latter may take important policy decisions. Diplomats have influenced the foreign policy-making of their respective countries. The most notable Indian among them was Sardar K. M. Panikar.[2] The foreign service is the official interpreter of the foreign policy of its country; and in turn, it keeps the home country fully informed of and equipped with important events in other countries acting as the eyes and ears of the Foreign Office. A country has a broad and general foreign policy towards other nations. For implementing this policy, detailed negotiations

[1] For details regarding the role of politics and administration in policy making refer to Frank J. Goodnow, *Politics and Administration*, The Macmillan Co.; and for rebuttal of his arguments refer to Paul H. Appleby, *Policy and Administration*, Alabama University Press, Alla, 1949.

[2] Refer to K. M. Panikkar: *In Two Chinas: Memoirs of a Diplomat* (London, 1955).

have to be undertaken – this task is performed by the Foreign Service. This role of the officials of the External Ministry was emphasized by Prime Minister Nehru when he said, ". . . before the Prime Ministers (of India and Pakistan) had met, there have been long consultations, so far as I remember twice at Karachi and Delhi between officials, officials at the highest level, who may make a mistake or not, but whom I considered far more competent to go into the details than I was, because it was of a complicated nature. Certainly our Commonwealth Secretary knew more about them than I could presume to know. I was often guided by his advice. In matters of detail, he has mastered them completely . . ."[3]

To sum up, the important functions of the Foreign Service are:

(a) To manage the Foreign Office at home;

(b) To perform diplomatic and consular functions abroad;

(c) To negotiate with foreign governments and international bodies on behalf of the home country;

(d) To supply information in a concise and summarised form to the foreign office at home on the basis of which important foreign policy decisions might be taken;[4]

(e) To perform the functions of publicity – both political and cultural;

(f) To perform "representational" functions and other public relations tasks associated with it;

(g) To look after economic interests of the country in the field of exports, foreign trade, foreign aid etc.;

(h) To administer and manage the Foreign Missions.

Thus as an instrument of the government for the execution of its foreign policy, the foreign service has to win friends and look after the country's national interests.

Writing about the British Foreign Service, Lord Strang in "The Foreign Office" states:

> "The service reports facts and offers comment and advice about them; it negotiates, either at home or abroad, with foreign governments; it maintains an elaborate system of co-ordination with the other departments of State on questions of foreign affairs in which they are concerned; it conducts, with outside help, the relations between Her Majesty's Government and a number of international bodies; it performs one kind of publicity work by its own means, and closely supervises another; it has certain administrative and advisory duties in various parts of the world . . ."[5]

To perform these highly responsible functions the Indian Foreign Service was "created as a specialized service for the conduct of the whole range of India's foreign relations – political, consular and commercial". The Interim

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[3] Lok Sabha Debates, 49 (1960) Col. 6553.

[4] Brian Chapman rightly observes, "But in essence good policy is a function of the quality of the information on which it is based, and on the quality of the men who are formulating it. The mere collection of information does not in itself guarantee its quality; information, to be of any use must be relevant to answering specific questions." (Brian Chapman: *British Government observed* (*Some European Reflections*) George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1963, p. 22).

[5] *The Foreign Office* – "The New White Hall Series" George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1955, p. 27.

Government while setting up this service in October, 1946, stated its purpose in the following terms:

> "The new service of our conception will man all India's posts abroad, whether diplomatic consular or commercial, in foreign as well as Empire countries. Since in the conditions of the modern world economic policy cannot be divorced from other aspects of foreign policy, and the view is now generally accepted that there is no logical justification for staffing diplomatic and consular posts from separate services, the new service will man all three categories of posts. An officer will naturally be employed as far as possible in the type of post for which he shows most aptitude, but it is contemplated that all members of the service will have experience of diplomatic and consular as well as "commercial diplomatic" work and the highest posts in the service will be open to all. While in the initial stages shortages of personnel may make it necessary to draw on outside sources for the filling of some posts, the object must be to build up a service which can staff all India's posts abroad and in the Foreign Office at home."[6]

A few important aspects regarding the functioning and organization of the service need examination.

Ministry of External Affairs

The overall responsibility for the conduct of our external relations lies with the Ministry of External Affairs headed by a Cabinet Minister (Prime Minister Nehru was himself Foreign Minister; and now the present Prime Minister also holds the foreign portfolio) who is assisted by a Minister of State and Deputy Ministers and the hierarchy of civil servants working in various divisions of the Ministry of External Affairs. These officials help to present to their Minister, in as clear and as comprehensive form as possible, various solutions of each problem as it arises. Opinions expressed by them have their influence on the policy makers, though the exact extent of this influence is not known to the general public. Riggs writing about the role of Bureaucracy states:

> ". . . officials fulfil political as well as administrative functions, the former in helping to shape public policy, the latter in helping to implement these policies . . . However, officials are themselves interested parties in any system of government and naturally seek to influence not only the way in which public policy is implemented but also what the rules, the public laws, will be."[7]

The Minister for External Affairs is responsible to Parliament for all foreign policy matters, and he has also to seek the co-operation of his Cabinet colleagues especially of Finance, Commerce and Industry in successfully pursuing the aims of that policy. Inter-Departmental co-ordination is a very important function of the Minister for External Affairs. If the Prime Minister is also Foreign Minister, this objective can be achieved more successfully,

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[6] Quoted from Report of the Indian Foreign Service Committee (popularly known as Pillai Committee) Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Delhi, 1966, p. 4.
Also refer to: "The Genesis and Organization of the Indian Foreign Service", *Indian Year Book of International Affairs, I*, (Madras, 1952) p. 29.

[7] Fred W. Riggs: Modernization and Development Administration, *Philippines Journal of Public Administration*, January, 1967, Vol. XI, N.I. (p. 44).

otherwise devices like inter-departmental committees are employed for the purpose.

The present organisational set-up in the Ministry of External Affairs, is that there are three secretaries, one designated as Foreign Secretary (who is responsible for co-ordination of all work performed in the Ministry) and the others designated as Secretary – (i) and Secretary–(ii). All three are co-equal in status.

The Ministry consists of eighteen Divisions. Eight of these are territorial divisions dealing exclusively with India's relations with foreign countries, and each dealing with a number of countries grouped on a geographical or territorial basis. The other ten are functional, general service or specialised dealing with functions officially scheduled as:

"Administration, Protocol and consular; Passport and visas; External Publicity; United Nations and Conferences and Disarmament; Economic Affairs and Technical Assistance; Historical Research; Legal and Treaties; Policy Planning and Communications and Security and Current Research Division."

It is interesting to note that it took a lot of time for the Ministry of External Affairs to realize the importance and utility of having a specialized division on economic affairs. For a country like India, the foreign policy is directed towards achieving its major economic interests such as obtaining foreign aid and the promotion of exports and foreign trade. India is also interested in attracting foreign capital for setting up important industries. The Ministry of External Affairs negotiates with foreign countries for favourable trade agreements. How could such an important function be performed without a fully fledged division concerning economic affairs at ministry level? An economic affairs division was created in the ministry in 1947 but later on fell into desuetude, before being recuscitated in 1961[8] as a fully fledged division of the ministry with responsibility for economic policies affecting India's relations with the outside world.

Two aspects of the organizational set-up at Headquarters deserve attention: They are:

(i) How to achieve internal co-ordination among the various divisions of the ministry so that they do not operate as an *imperium in imperio*

(ii) What appropriate methods should be adopted to streamline the administration of the ministry?

To achieve intra-departmental co-ordination, it is suggested that the post of Secretary General for the Ministry of External Affairs should be revived. For many years the head of the pyramidal official structure was a Secretary General assisted by two or three Secretaries to the Government. He performed the work of overall co-ordination of the ministry. But the post was abolished towards the end of 1964, being replaced by the structure already described.

The Pillai Report has recommended the post be restored and the Secretary General given the following main functions:

(i) principal adviser to the Minister on the conduct of foreign affairs;

(ii) responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of the ministry;

[8] Vide the recommendation of Estimates Committee (1960-61) Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 11-12. Also refer to H. Dayal, "The Organization of Diplomatic and Consular Services with special reference to India", *India Quarterly*, New Delhi, XII, 3, (July-September, 1956) p. 275-6.

(iii) the final responsibility for ensuring the establishment of suitable co-ordinative arrangements with other ministries and their satisfactory operation;
(iv) Chairman of the Policy Planning and the Review Committee, and be responsible for the direction of policy planning in the ministry; and
(v) head of the Foreign Service and be generally responsible for the good administration of the service.[9]

This suggestion of the Pillai Committee should be accepted. *Inter alia* the prestige and the status of a Secretary General would be a helpful factor in achieving intra-departmental and inter-departmental co-ordination (at secretary level with other departments of the Government of India.)

Further, the administration of the Ministry of External Affairs is different from that of other ministries of the Government of India. It has to concern itself with a far-flung net-work of nearly a hundred Missions and posts abroad. All the problems of headquarters – ensuring uniformity of procedures at field establishments scattered round the world – assume relevance. For this a separate post of Additional Secretary In-charge of Administration should be created at headquarters.[10]

It need not be emphasized here that the efficient working of the Ministry of External Affairs is one of the very important pre-requisites for the proper conduct of foreign relations. Its administrative problems like co-ordination, proper flow of information both horizontal as well as vertical, effective inspection and supervision, need proper attention; and a few structural changes as suggested above will achieve the desired results.

Indian Foreign Service

After examining in brief the organization and functions of the Ministry of External Affairs, it is pertinent to discuss a few other aspects of the foreign service relating to the specific task of putting foreign policy into effect through the performance of its diplomatic, commercial and publicity functions. The personnel of the service[11] have different backgrounds as will be clear from the following breakdown of the IFS cadre of officers on 1st January, 1966:

20 officers—permanently seconded from the Indian Civil Service, the India Political Service and the Indian Audit and Accounts Service.
33 officers—selected through the Federal Public Service Commission.
33 officers—selected through the special Selection Board.
5 officers—promoted from Information Service posts.
18 officers—promoted from the IFS (B).
162 officers—selected through the All India competitive examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission.

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[9] Pillai Report, op cit, p. 23.
[10] Pillai Committee also recommends this kind of arrangement, *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[11] IFS (B): For manning junior posts of a ministerial character in the Ministry of External Affairs and India's Foreign Missions, the IFS (B) was formed in 1956. The permanent strength of this cadre is 1900 and about 500 posts are continuing on a temporary basis.

The largest number of officers are those who have competed successfully on the basis of an All Indian examination. But at the top of the hierarchy in the Indian Foreign Service are the members of the Indian Civil Service. The ICS was primarily created to look after law and order, revenue collection, and general overall co-ordination work, and to defend the interests of the British Imperial Government in India. A pertinent question is: How have the ICS (meant for altogether different kinds of tasks) adapted themselves to the task of manning diplomatic assignments? The exclusiveness and the sense of social superiority with which the ICS personality make-up was associated are attributes least required for the foreign service personnel.

Mr. Dhamija of the Indian Political Service, and India's former Ambassador to Afghanistan in his 21-page memorandum to the Pillai Committee, traced the genesis of the present ills in the foreign service to the introduction of "casteism" in the service by giving heavy weightage to the ICS, "some of whom, regardless of merit or otherwise have continued and will continue indefinitely to have a hold on the administration."[12]

He further states:

> "It must also be recorded that in spite of vehement protests, both loud and deep, from the officers of foreign service, more ICS officers were added to the gradation list after the cadre has been finally closed."

The role of the ICS people in our foreign service needs a close examination. Its one adverse impact is on the young IFS officials who look towards the ICS as their leaders and models. Consciously or unconsiously, the young IFS officers imbibe the traditions of their superiors and as N. Parmeswaran Nair rightly states:

> "Moreover, till today, the leadership of the foreign service has also remained with persons who had belonged to the ICS. A good many of the persons recruited into the foreign service at the time of its inception had belonged to the central or provincial services, the defence forces and the social classes which were closely associated with the previous administrative set-up. The entire establishment had also been trained in the old system of administration. It was natural that the new persons entering the service of the Ministry should also be inducted fast into the ethos of the existing system. But the earlier administrative system could not provide complete guidance to the new service, as the latter envisaged functions which had not been undertaken previously."[13]

The young officials, who are recruited to the IFS by a competitive examition conducted by the Union Public Service Commission on the basis of a written test as well as an interview, do not represent the broad segments of Indian society. Entry to the service is monopolized by urban educated sons and daughters of high ranking government employees. The following table is indicative of this.[14]

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[12] *The Times of India*, New Delhi, dated July 7, 1966, p. 4.

[13] N. Parameswaran Nair: The Administration of Foreign Affairs in India with comparative Reference to Britain, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, 1963, p. 644.

[14] Pillai Report, op.cit., p. 146.

DISTRIBUTION OF I.F.S. OFFICERS ACCORDING TO PARENT'S PROFESSIONS

Serial No.	*Urban occupations*		*Rural occupations*	
1.	Government employees ...	81	Landlords	12
2.	Teachers	25	Labourers	2
3.	Business Community and professions	44	Miscellaneous	1
4.	Miscellaneous	7		
	Total ...	157	Total ...	15
	Percentage of urban recruitment to total recruitment	91.28%	Percentage of rural recruitment to total recruitment	8.7%
	Percentage of urban population to total population ...	18%	Percentage of rural population to total population ...	82%

Because most of the IFS entrants are urban educated people belonging in the main to comparatively wealthy families, post-recruitment training should play the role of widening their horizon and making them understand the full picture of the problems of rural, backward and poor India. Sankar N. Maitra states:

> "After all, an Indian representative should, above everything, know his own country and his people. Transferring a middle class young man knowing little of the countryside or the village people, from the classroom to a foreign country via a written examination, may not be the best means of fitting him to be the future Ambassador of India."[15]

The deficiencies created by their urban background should be removed by a well thought out, well-planned and broad-based training programme. The present system of training consists of attachments to the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, and to the International School of Studies, New Delhi, together with training in the districts and working within the Ministry. The present period of six months of district training is considered by the IFS probationers as inadequate to equip them with understanding of the way of life and spirit and motivations of the rural people. Their background of urban salaried class families precludes them from understanding the "soul of India", and hence, they fail to project the real image of the country when they proceed abroad. Therefore, the period of district training should be increased and it should be made more purposeful.

Inadequacy of the present set-up

The foreign service has to perform specialized tasks in the fields of diplomacy, publicity and commercial activity. These three jobs are performed by a single unified Indian Foreign Service. No doubt all these three activities are inter-related and form an integrated whole, but that does not mean that any one officer is necessarily qualified to carry out each of these tasks. They are

[15] Sankar N. Maitra: "Ills of the Indian Foreign Service: A Comment". *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay) November 12, 1966, Vol. 1, No. 13, p. 551.
Also refer to: G. S. Bhargava: The Ills of the Indian Foreign Service: *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), October 22, 1966, Vol. I, No. 10, pp. 407-410.

three specialized jobs and need specialized skills and tools of work. It need not be emphasized that all the three functions should be performed by our Missions abroad, be under the overall charge of the head of the Mission. But the present system of entrusting the same members of the Indian Foreign Service with all the three jobs from time to time, seems to be based on a fallacious understanding of their nature. They are highly specialized and need to be performed by individual specialists.

The present acceptance of the fact that one single unified service can be entrusted with all sorts of tasks is a legacy from the British who have for so long believed in the superiority of the generalist administrator. It is based on the assumption that if a man has intellectual brilliance (which in India is tested in the competitive examinations held by the UPSC) he can perform any kind of administrative job. However far this may have held good in the past, beyond doubt the complexities of the late Twentieth Century demand specialization.

Our contention is that diplomacy, publicity and commercial activities require special knowledge and training and the present system of one cadre of persons performing all the tasks is no longer an adequate solution.

The Pillai report agrees that ". . . all Foreign Service officers must have a grounding in economic affairs and also develop a feel for commercial matters"[16] but thinks that the tasks should be performed by a "single foreign service cadre"[17] a continuation of the present system notwithstanding the comment in the report that the foreign service seems to have developed a tendency "to regard commercial, and latterly also economic, work as either less attractive, or too specialized and narrow in scope".[18]

This approach reflects the attitude on the basis of which the supremacy of a "generalist" IAS cadre is defended in India.[19] Whenever a new task has to be undertaken by the government, the IAS is considered suitable for it. If in the pre-Independence period, the ICS was appointed to maintain law and order, perform judicial functions and collect revenue etc., the same ICS in post-Independence India was considered suitable to run and manage public enterprises, banking and insurance business. It was not realized that the pre-Independence and post-Independence tasks required people with different abilities, training and outlook. The same approach of pre-emption has been applied in the case of the Indian Foreign Service. It is ignored that the three activities (diplomacy, publicity and commerce) require different skills and attitudes, and hence should be entrusted to different individuals who should make one particular branch of activity as their speciality and a permanent career therein. Hence it is suggested that the IFS should consist of three distinct services instead of the present single unified service. There should be IFS (Diplomacy), IFS (Information) and IFS (Commercial and Economic Affairs). These three services would be inter-related but would function as specialized cadres. Consequently the present defects of the generalist approach would cease to exist.

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[16] Pillai Report, op. cit, p. 43.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[19] For defects of the "Generalist" system of Civil Service also refer to: Brian Chapman: op. cit: pp. 22-25, 33-39.

The members of the IFS (Commercial) cadre would be concerned with inter-governmental trade negotiations; maintain close contact with Chambers of Commerce and individual firms; advise the firms at home on the prospects of investment abroad, and *vice versa*; negotiate for better terms of foreign trade and other allied issues.

The Estimates Committee recognized this fact and stated ". . . that the real strength of a country nowadays depended upon the scientific, industrial and economic achievements . . . It appears to the committee that neither the IFS probationers nor the existing counsellors may be adequately equipped for such special work requiring a certain amount of scientific and economic background."[20]

Along with diplomacy and commercial activity, publicity is another specialized job, which should be entrusted to a separate cadre of IFS (Publicity) and Lord Strang can be quoted in support of this view:

> "The Information officers cover the whole field of . . . publicity directed towards foreign countries . . . They study the local press and other media of publicity such as films and broadcasting; they keep in touch with those who control all these media, and they try to secure the reproduction in all of them of publicity material designed to make known the British way of life and the official British attitude towards current political questions. An Information Officer does not, of course, work in a completely watertight compartment within the Mission, for it is one of the duties of all its members to cultivate the local press and publicists. But he is the whole-time specialist and expert adviser to the rest of the staff in this extremely important field."[21]

Keeping in mind the needs of the present age, the old assumption that a brilliant graduate can be entrusted with any kind of job, and become jack of all trades, has become obsolete. Hence the foreign service should be divided into three categories and recruitment should be made for three specialized cadres.

Much of the criticism that is levelled against the working of the Indian Foreign Service, both in the press and in the Parliament, arises out of the fact that the generalists are attempting to perform specialised tasks for which they lack the necessary expertise. They are not able to further the economic and commercial interests of the country because their background and training for performing such jobs is superficial. Our external publicity fails because publicity is an art which is being handled by a variety of officers in Foreign Missions. This malady exists because, as one of the witnesses before the Estimates Committee stated;

> "Persons for appointments to the different fields of diplomatic representational work viz., political, information, cultural and administrative were being *selected at random* on the basis of seniority for different posts."[22]

To sum up, the role of the foreign service ncessitates its total re-organiza-

[20] Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha), 1960-61, Hundred and Thirty Eighth Report – Ministry of External Affairs: Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1961, p. 24.

[21] Op.cit., p. 112.

[22] Mr. Dinesh Singh M.P. Estimates Committee (1960-61) Minutes of sittings relating to Hundred and Thirty Eighth Report (Second Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of External Affairs and procedural and miscellaneous matters: Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, July, 1961, pp. 17-18.

tion. The efficient working of the Ministry of External Affairs and India's Missions abroad must depend upon the personnel manning them. Further, co-ordination should be given prime attention by the Ministry of External Affairs. In the present changing political context of the Centre – State relations in India, the ministry should develop a good internal organization which should be fully posted with information regarding the economic potentialities of each State.

Foreign policy is the product of various forces operating in a country and the world at large. How much influence the civil servant wields in the shaping of a foreign policy is a hidden phenomenon. The official foreign policy is that of the responsible minister, and the real job of the official in the ministry and the foreign missions is to implement it in the best possible manner.[23]

The reforms suggested in this article would, it is believed, streamline the Indian Foreign Service so as to perform its new and heavy responsibilities effectively and efficiently.

[23] Harold Nicolson also states this fact: "The diplomatist, being a civil servant is subject to the Foreign Secretary; the Foreign Secretary being a member of the Cabinet is subject to the majority in Parliament; and Parliament being a representative Assembly, is subject to the will of the sovereign people". (*Diplomacy*, London, 1950, p. 82).

Provincial and District Government in Zambia, Part II*

By WILLIAM TORDOFF

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In Part I of this article, we noted that the transformation of the inherited structure of Provincial Administration proceeded on lines similar to those already mapped out in Tanzania. Many of the duties formerly performed by officers of the Provincial Administration have devolved on the police and ministries. The administration has been politicised in that each of the eight provinces into which Zambia is divided is now headed by a politican called a Minister of State. The latter is supported politically by at least one Public Relations Assistant and between one and four Political Assistants, and administratively by a Resident Secretary and a Development Officer (both civil servants). The Minister presides over a Provincial Development Committee, which meets on average every three months to consider ministerial progress reports and to identify and resolve bottlenecks in implementing a centrally-formulated National Development Plan which is broken down into regional programmes. In the past, Provincial Development Committees have enjoyed very limited powers, thus giving rise to local feelings of frustration. Tentative steps are however now being taken to decentralise responsibility for executing the Development Plan. Such decentralisation will have important consequences for the administration of the country's forty-four districts. It is to the district level that we now turn.

Zambia has a much larger urban population than Tanzania – some 25 per cent of its near four million people live in towns as against approximately four per cent of Tanzania's ten million people. The main reason for this difference is, of course, Zambia's industrial complex centred on the Copperbelt. Away from the line of rail and apart from certain fertile areas such as the Luapula and upper Zambezi valleys, the population is scattered thinly over an area of over 250,000 square miles. The Zambian Government estimates that "70 per cent of Zambia's population are small-scale cultivators, the majority on a subsistence basis."[1] The main crops grown and sold by Africans are maize, barley and Turkish tobacco, groundnuts, cotton and fruit and vegetables; there is also a substantial livestock industry. Total earnings of all employees in 1965 increased by 21 per cent, while total employment rose by 10.6 per cent over the previous year; the corresponding figures for 1966 were 22 per cent and (for threequarters of the year only) 12 per cent. In 1965 the average earnings of both African and non-African employees rose in every

* Part I appeared in the July issue of the Journal. The Article is mainly based on discussions with politicians and civil servants; the author is of course solely responsible for the views expressed.

[1] *Economic Report*, 1966 (Lusaka, 1966), p. 87.

sector except agriculture and transport and communications, and agriculture was the only sector where they actually fell; the figures for the first quarter of 1966 showed a marked improvement in transport and communications but only a slight improvement in agriculture.[2] Moreover, growing incomes continue to spill over into rising prices. It therefore follows that over two-thirds of Zambia's population have as yet derived little material benefit from the increased revenue resulting from the high copper prices which have prevailed during much of the post-independence period and which have led to a sharp rise in incomes, especially in the mining and quarrying industries. If a balanced society is to be achieved, it is therefore an urgent task to promote rural development and to increase opportunities in the rural areas. These economic facts give a special importance to the operation of government at the district and sub-district levels.

Each district is in the charge of a District Secretary who is a civil servant rather than a politician. His role – as well as that of the Resident Secretary – is set out in the President's directive of 19 June, 1966:

> "From now on I want it to be known and realized that Resident Secretaries and District Secretaries are, in their provinces or districts respectively, my personal civil service representatives; and that I am charging them with the following specific responsibilities:
>
> (i) to be the chief Government co-ordinating officers in their provinces or districts with particular reference to the work of economic development;
>
> (ii) to maintain the morale and well-being of the Civil Service;
>
> (iii) to ensure that Government policies and procedures are understood by the people;
>
> (iv) to ensure that the presence of the Government is felt throughout the provinces and districts;
>
> (v) to supervise generally the functioning of other government departments within their provinces or districts."[3]

There is one obvious and important difference between the formal positions of the district secretary and the resident secretary. The absence of a political boss at district level, equivalent to the Minister of State at provincial level, means that the district secretary becomes more closely involved in political issues than his superior officer. Indeed, until fairly recently he could loosely be regarded as the political, as well as the administrative, head of his district; he therefore equated more closely with the district commissioner in Kenya than with the area secretary in Tanzania. The Tanzanian solution of having a politician, called an Area Commissioner, as district head was considered, but rejected in Zambia. Possibly the mixed party of civil servants and politicians which studied Tanzania's regional administration in 1964 may have recognized that the political advantages of the area commissioner system, as it then operated, were more than offset by the administrative disadvantages. In the event, a compromise was worked out whereby concessions were made to the politicians but civil service control was retained.

Recently, however, Zambia has moved somewhat closer to the Tanzanian pattern. The UNIP region – there are 47 regions in the country as a whole –

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 28; *Economic Report*, 1967 (Lusaka, 1968), pp. 9, 22, 28.
[3] *Annual Report of the Provincial and District Government*, 1966, op.cit. p. 1.

almost invariably corresponds with the administrative district (or sub-district). At its head is the regional secretary who is appointed by the central committee of the party and paid (£25 per month) from party funds. He is assisted by two other centrally-appointed and paid officials – the regional youth and publicity secretary and the regional women's secretary. Any one of these officials can be transferred to another region, though in fact most of them still serve in their home areas; a regional secretary who is promoted to the (government) post of Political Assistant is likely either to be appointed to another province or made responsible for supervising government and party activities in districts other than is own. These three full-time regional officials, together with two trustees appointed by the central committee on their recommendation, constitute the regional committee. This committee is the main party organ at regional level (there is also a regional annual conference with largely confirmatory powers) and is responsible (*inter alia*) for promoting the interests of the party, and supervising the work and activities of the constituencies and branches, in the region. The regional secretary, and two other officials from each region – who, it seems, are invariably the regional youth secretary and the regional women's secretary – serve on the National Council.[4] This is the main policy-making organ of UNIP and corresponds to the National Executive Committee of TANU. Probably because it contains a smaller proportion of elected members, it is however less powerful than the National Executive in relation to the Central Committee.

Membership of the UNIP National Council confers prestige on the regional secretary. So, too, does membership of national and provincial boards. In August 1967 one of the five regional secretaries in the Eastern Province was a member of the Grain Marketing Board, the National Wholesale Corporation, the Eastern Province Co-operative Marketing Association and the Provincial Local Government Service Board; another was a member of the National Resources Board, the National Council of Education and the National Commission of UNESCO. The power-base of the regional secretary lies, however, within his own discrict. Apart from his position as "the chief representative of the Party within the Region,"[5] most regional secretaries are chairmen of the rural council within the district. The main exceptions to this pattern are ANC[6] – dominated councils, such as Mumbwa in the Central Province and Namwala in the Southern Province, as well as two out of the three rural councils in the Luapula Province and some of the councils in the Northern Province; competition for posts within the ruling party is keener in the two latter provinces than elsewhere. The office of chairman is elective under the terms of the Local Government Act, 1965, but following the countrywide local government elections in September 1966, UNIP councillors seem to have been "encouraged" to elect the person – usually the UNIP regional secretary – favoured by party headquarters. (More latitude was apparently allowed in the 1967 elections to the office of chairman). This was presumably both a means of integrating the party into the machinery of local government and of ascertaining that local government policy would not be at variance with cental government policy.

[4] *Constitution of the United National Independence Party*, August 1967 (mimeo), Clause XIII: Regional Headquarters; Clause XIV: Duties of Regional Officials; Clause XX: National Council.

[5] *Ibid.*, Clause XIII, 5 (i).

[6] African National Congress.

In mid-1967 every regional secretary assumed administrative responsiblity within the central government framework upon his appointment as chairman of the District Development Committee, a post formerly held by the district secretary. The latter became secretary of the committee. This step not only shows the importance attached by the UNIP Government to the office of regional secretary but, more important, it is a recognition that the governing party has a key role to play in development. The rationale behind this policy of linking the party to the administration has been provided by Zambia's former Director of Planning, who was at one time Development Adviser to the President of the Republic of Madagascar. In a recent article, he has stressed the need "to provide for close association in the field of development between political representatives and territorial administration. Failure to do this may result in contradictory statements of policy by leaders, or in development projects being encouraged by the administration which are not policitally acceptable."[7] The point is valid though it does tend to assume the existence in Zambia of a one-party system rather than of a one-party dominant system, and the new arrangement might be less successful in districts where the ANC retains some support than in (say) the districts of the Northern and Luapula Provinces where UNIP holds a monopoly of power.

Nonetheless, there is a reasonable prospect that the appointment of the regional secretary as chairman of the district development committee will work satisfactorily over most of the country. Several regional secretaries have little knowledge of the technical departments of government and will need sympathetic guidance over the next few months. A great deal will obviously depend on the personality of the regional secretary, his readiness to accept advice and his willingness to co-operate with, rather than dictate to, government officials. It is particularly important that a good working relationship should exist between the regional secretary and the district secretary, who represent what are officially described as "the political and civil service arms of Government."[8] A recent circular prescribes that they should undertake joint tours – a result, it would seem, of party resentment at tours conducted by the district secretary alone.

It remains to be seen whether the establishment of a good working relationship between these two officials will be made easier or more difficult by the frequent presence in the district of a Political Assistant – the political assistants in each province normally divide the province between them,[9] each supervising a group of party regions and, therefore, administrative districts. In the political sphere, the work performed by the political assistant duplicates the work of the regional secretary (who is regarded as his junior in the party hierarchy) to such an extent that friction between them could easily develop. On the other hand in those provinces, notably Luapula and Northern, where competition between party officials is keen, he may be able to reconcile conflicting interests – for example, by mediating between the regional secretary and the other party official who holds the post of chairman of the rural council, where the former does not himself fill both posts. Moreover the

[7] Nigel Heseltine, "Administrative Structures and the Implementation of Development Plans", *Journal of Administration Overseas* (London, April, 1967), vol. VI, No. 2, p. 79.

[8] Annual Report of the Provincial and District Government, 1966, op. cit. p. 2.

[9] Except in the Western Province which, as we have seen, has only one Political Assistant at present.

political assistant, as the itinerant representative of the Minister of State, helps to maintain close contact between provincial and district headquarters. Given co-operation and goodwill on all sides, the present arrangement might therefore work satisfactorily; it would quickly cease to do so if the political assistant and the regional secretary – in his capacity as chairman of the district development committee – were to give conflicting instructions to the district secretary.

The district development committee is, of course, the counterpart at district level of the provincial development committee at provincial level. In composition it should, and normally does, reflect a balance between civil servants – the heads of government departments represented in the district – and other members. The latter are drawn from politics, the rural council and the traditional sphere; an important local trader might be included to represent business interests. The smaller size of the district development committee makes it more manageable than the provincial development committee and this fact should be conducive to effective discussion. On average, a district development committee has twenty to thirty members, though not all members attend meetings regularly.[10] Some committees meet every three months, but others meet when business arises rather than at fixed intervals. Certainly until recently, the practice in Barotse Province has been to convene a meeting for some specific purpose – for example, to work out plans for district projects for the second year of the National Development Plan or to hear an address by a visiting minister. District development committees are, however, now being urged to meet more regularly. This is essential if they are to fulfil their functions. These include watching the progress of district projects, anticipating and analysing obstacles and problems, finding local solutions to these difficulties whenever possible, and stimulating self-help schemes. The latter – and ensuring popular participation in the Development Plan – is a special responsibility imposed on the political members of the district development committee, as well as on the Department of Community Development.

Though it contains local authority representatives, the district development committee in Zambia is not regarded, as in Tanzania, as a committee of the rural council. This arrangement avoids the anomoly which arose in Tanzania, that the area commissioner was chairman of a district council committee while not himself a member of the council. (This anomaly would be less likely to arise in Zambia where, as we have seen, the UNIP regional secretary is both chairman of the district development committee and, very often, the chairman of the rural council also; if not chairman, he is almost certain to be a council member). In Zambia rural councils are now more closely integrated into the district development committee than they were in 1966 but the development committee has virtually no control over, and apparently very little interest in, the sub-district bodies concerned with development. Ward committees are solely responsible to the local authorities; for the most part, they do not work well, but the district development committee does nothing to improve effectiveness. The scattered village project and development

[10] In the Barotse Province the approximate membership of four out of the five District Development Committees is: Kalabo, 30; Mongu 23; Sesheke, 20; Senanga, 21. In the Luapula Province the Mansa District Development Committee has some 25 members while the Samfya Committee has about 30 members; government officers constitute a majority in each case.

committees formed by the Department of Community Development to manage self-help projects also operate independently of the district development committee and often of the rural council too. The President has stressed the need to form village productivity councils and village committees,[11] but very few have actually been formed. There are, in other words, as yet no real equivalents in Zambia to the village development committees in Tanzania, which work direct to the district development committee in that country.

Some General Conclusions

There are many and obvious differences between the present system of Provincial and District Government and the system of Provincial Administration which it replaced. First, the assumption of power by a UNIP Government in 1964 has led at all levels to official recognition that UNIP is one arm of the government and the civil service is the other. A politician is now at the head of every province and is assisted by other politicians, some of whom – like the Assistants to the Ministers of State – fill specially created government posts, and others – notably the regional secretaries – remain full-time employees of the party but with public administration responsibilities. Civil servants are not allowed to engage actively in politics, but they are expected to identify themselves with the government to a considerable extent. Though a sharper distinction between politics and public administration exists in Zambia than in Tanzania, the whole working of Provincial and District Government in Zambia assumes the existence of a one-party state. The logical outcome of the present trend would be to create such a state legally, but President Kaunda has insisted that his government has no intention of taking this step.

Secondly, all except a small number of posts in Provincial and District Government are now filled by Zambians. The fact that these officers represent a government which, in the eyes of the people, has much more legitimacy than the colonial government which it replaced compensates to some extent for a temporary (and in view of the paucity of training facilities for Africans before independence, inevitable) drop in efficiency.

In the third place, Provincial and District Government has lost many of its former functions to other ministries. In particular it is no longer responsible for supervising rural local authorities, which are controlled today by field officers of the Ministry of Local Government and Prisons. District secretaries (as well as resident secretaries at provincial level) have been given important new responsibilities under the President's directive of 19th June, 1966. Unfortunately, however, they lack the powers to exercise these responsibilities fully. Such powers as they inherited from the former district commissioners have been largely eroded by the appointment both of the UNIP regional secretary as chairman of the district development committee and of political assistants, who have no obvious place in either the party or the civil service hierarchy.

A fourth point of contrast with provincial administration is that Provincial and District Government is geared above all to promote economic develop-

[11] K. D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation* (Lusaka, n.d.), pp. 37, 41-43.

ment. For this reason, some new institutional machinery has been established. Provincial and district development committees form links in the chain joining the National Development Committee of the Cabinet, which works closely with the Office of National Development and Planning, at the top and the village productivity councils (formed or projected) at the bottom. The structure is perhaps adequate, but for a variety of reasons works indifferently: weak inter-ministerial co-ordination at the centre has an adverse impact on co-ordination at provincial and district levels; slowness of communication between ministerial and provincial headquarters delays the implementation of development projects; the withdrawal by ministries from the field of many of the most capable and experienced officers has the same effect; while the large size of provincial development committees and the failure in some provinces to establish executive committees tend to reduce the effectiveness of these bodies. Some of these and other difficulties might be solved by reform at provincial and district levels – for example, by conferring executive powers on provincial development committees, by delegating more powers to ministerial representatives in the field, by strengthening the position of resident and district secretaries, and, for the Second National Development Plan, making both provincial and district development committees planning bodies also.

But piecemeal reform can raise as many problems as it solves. Experience elsewhere – for example, in Tanzania and Nigeria – suggests that in the administration of new states formerly ruled by Britain, rationalism is required at some point as an antidote to empiricism. There is a strong case in Zambia for appointing a Machinery of Government Committee to test the adequacy of that machinery for implementing the National Development Plan and to review its working *at all levels* of government activity. As far as the centre is concerned, it is to be observed that Zambia has so far undertaken much less ministerial reorganization than Tanzania; it is probably also fair to say that it has given less attention to the rational deployment of scarce personnel.

Professor Burke has pointed out that the incompatibility between inherited political and administrative structures and newly-formulated socio-political goals generally leads the Government of a new African state *either* to dismantle the inherited system and attempt to build new and more appropriate institutions or to trim the goals to fit an inherited structure which has only been slightly modified. These two approaches can be identified as the transformation approach and the transitional approach.[12] Zambia has adopted both approaches since independence, but has inclined to the latter. The provincial and district development committees, for example, are the updated versions of the former provincial and district teams; in this and certain other respects, therefore, "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." Moreover, Zambia does not yet possess a legitimatizing ideology which is at the same time characteristic of a transformation polity, essential to overcome the intertia of the entire administrative ecology, and therefore "critical to the success of institutional transformation."[13]

The fact is that though UNIP has a mass following, it is not a revolu-

[12] Fred G. Burke, "Public Administration in Africa: The Legacy of Inherited Colonial Institutions", paper presented to the Seventh World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Brussels, 18-23 September, 1967, *passim*.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

tionary party out to cast society in a new mould. It is directed by leaders who are anxious to promote the lot of "the common man", within the accepted context of a semi-capitalist society. These leaders now subscribe to the official doctrine of "Humanism"[14], which draws upon the co-operative values of African tradition to inspire new social developments. Recently the President has visited all parts of the country, lecturing on "Humanism" and discussing its practical implications with officials and groups of citizens. In this way "Humanism" may be developed as a guide to action for regional secretaries and other UNIP officials. But the doctrine itself is ideologically diffuse; it seems likely that for some time to come UNIP will retain its character of a broad-based national party with a pragmatic rather than an ideological base. Institutional transformation may therefore proceed somewhat slowly. On the other hand, if Shils is right, the possession of an ideology is not essential for generating the consensus on which orderly development depends[15] and it is to be hoped that Zambia's existing machinery of government and party structure will prove strong enough to allow such development to take place.

[14] Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia*, op. cit.

[15] Edward Shils, "Consensus", paper presented to the Seventh World Congress of I.P.S.A., Brussels, 18-23 September, 1967, especially pp. 30-33.

The Co-operative Movement and Development Administration

by R. C. GATES

Mr. Gates was formerly Commissioner for Co-operative Development, Malaya and Singapore and has subsequently been a co-operative expert with F.A.O., with United States AID and with the Ministry of Overseas Development.

Much Development Aid is going to the improvement of rural life in developing countries. Tractors, agricultural implements, stud cattle, rams, boars, etc. are supplied to peasants and small farmers. Funds are provided for credit purposes. The channel for such aid is through the central governments of the developing countries. Criticism is often voiced regarding mismanagement in the distribution of such aid. Channels are often lengthy, complex and expensive. By the time the aid reaches the rural population expenses have greatly reduced it and sometimes delays in the distribution nullify its effectiveness.

In most developing countries, especially those in the Commonwealth, a Co-operative Movement is in existence among the rural population. Many different types of co-operatives have been formed, for it is by far the most effective way for promoting the economic interests of a rural population. The supply of agricultural requirements, such as seed, fertilizers, implements, etc., the marketing of cash crops, especially for export, and the provision of agricultural credit can all be effectively managed through co-operatives.

Every Co-operative is managed democratically by the members themselves. Their needs are quickly known through their co-operatives. In most countries co-operatives are organized in the form of a pyramid. The primary co-operatives at local level form themselves into a regional union or association. These regional associations form themselves into a national apex society. Thus the needs of the small farmer or peasant can readily be made known to the central government and distribution of development aid can rapidly, inexpensively and usually most effectively be made through the Co-operative Movement.

Corruption is kept in check by the watchfulness of the members themselves who are determined to get the maximum amount of the aid available, whether it be for agricultural supplies or funds for credit.

Usually there is a good inspectorate and guidance service provided by the Government Co-operative Department or by the Movement itself, where it is well developed. Such a service provides the audit of the Movement and keeps the accounts in order. It can ensure rapid and honest distribution of development funds for the rural population.

Co-operatives, at all levels, apex, regional and local, provide the most admirable means for officers of the Development Administration and for officers of all other Government Departments who have to deal with the

improvement of rural life, to keep in close contact with the needs and requirements of the small farmer and peasant. Particularly is this so at the local level, for there the small farmers and peasants meet regularly in their co-operatives at general or committee meetings, at which an excellent opportunity is afforded all Government officers interested in rural development to meet the rural population and to give advice and to keep a check on the expenditure of development funds. This facility is particularly useful to veterinary officers where stud animals are made available by development funds. Agricultural officers and fishery officers find such meetings invaluable to meet the farmers or the fishermen collectively or individually without the difficulty or tedium of paying visits to distant farms or fishing communities. In such meetings most useful discussions take place, and the co-operators make known their needs and the best means for catering for them. For it is seldom that one method will suit every locality or community. The Development Administration must adapt development facilities to the local needs to provide really effective development in rural areas. Through such co-operative meetings it can keep in touch very closely with local needs and requirements.

Nevertheless there is often apparent considerable suspicion and distrust of the Co-operative Movement. Many older administrative officers tend to look upon the Movement with disfavour owing to youthful memories of the rather unimpressive "Co-op. shop" that they passed at the street corner in their home town or village. Among younger officers often there is a distrust of the Movement because of the cases of mismanagement or misappropriation they have heard of or had to clear up.

It is natural in all human organization for stupidity, negligence and dishonesty to appear. The only real cure for such lapses is a devotion to the cause on the part of the members of the movements, and a very real phenomenon in the Co-operative Movement is the large number of ordinary members and officers of societies that are wholeheartedly devoted to the movement and have a deep faith in it.

The best defence against all lapses in efficiency is the watchfulness of the members themselves. It is by their constant check on the work of the officers and employees of the society, in committee and general meetings, that early discovery of mismanagement or misappropriation is made. Furthermore regular audits of the society's books and operations are made by the Government Co-operative Departments or by the Movements' own inspectorate, where it is sufficiently developed to be able to undertake this service itself.

Therefore it can be safely said that the Co-operative Movement itself can be a better channel for the distribution of development aid by a Development Administration than through an expensive bureaucratic set-up.

Quarterly Notes

Africa – *Agricultural Research*

The establishment of an Association for the Advancement of Agricultural Sciences in Africa (AAASA) highlighted the recent Conference on Agricultural Research Priorities for Economic Development in Africa. Agricultural research in Africa has long been dominated by the English, Belgians and particularly the French, organized along widely differing lines and ultimately responsible to London, Brussels and Paris. The recently independent countries can profit by sharing common experience and pooling their limited resources of trained manpower in the search for ways of increasing agricultural production, both to feed their increasing populations and to export for valuable foreign exchange currency.

This was the theme set by Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), in his keynote address and echoed by Otto Fischnich, Assistant Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and agriculture Minister Abdoulaye Sawadogo of the host Government of the Ivory Coast at the opening ceremonies in the modern capital of Abidjan, in April, 1968.

The conference brought together as individuals agricultural scientists, planners, government officials and educators from throughout inter-tropical anglophone and francophone Africa to examine the research needs and priorities in the various fields of agriculture contributing to the economic development of their countries. Hitherto such discussions have been primarily conducted at meetings sponsored by FAO or the Organization of African Unity (OAU) between government delegations seldom comprising representation from the pure science as well as socio-economic disciplines involved in their diverse ways with the problems of agricultural research and development.

Approximately two hundred participants from 32 countries attended the conference which, although organized by the US National Academy of Sciences in co-operation with FAO and the Government of the Ivory Coast and with financial support from the Agency for International Development (AID), was structured and developed by an advisory group of prominent African agriculturalists meeting in Ghana in early 1967. Other international organizations present were the African Development Bank, the World Bank, ECA, and the Organization of African and Malagasy States (OCAM). The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations currently establishing an International Institute for Tropical Agriculture in Ibadan, Nigeria, were also represented and their institute will be most active in tackling problems examined at the meeting. From outside Africa, scientists from the US, Canada, France, Britain, Israel, Taiwan and the Philippines invited for their particular expertise or interest in specific aspects of tropical agriculture made up the balance of participation.

The discussion was divided into eleven commissions, charged with reviewing problems in the following areas:

I. Soil and Water Management
II. Animal Health
III. Animal Production
IV. Cereal Crop Production
V. Industrial Crop Production (savannah zone)
VI. Economics of Agricultural Production and Marketing.
VII. Grain Legume and Root Crop Production
VIII. Industrial Crop Production (humid tropics)
IX. Education.
X. Crop Storage and Protection
XI. Research Institutions

in addition to plenary sessions on:

I. Ecological Bases for Regional Research Programmes
II. Farming Systems in Africa – Mechanization and Innovation and a seminar on agroclimatology and water resources development.

A number of problems emphasized are common to some or all of the various commissions – particularly the need for increased emphasis on agriculture and agricultural development as an essential component for economic development in Africa, and the urgent need for more agriculturalists, expatriate as well as African. Prominence was also given to the need for research into increasing diversity of agricultural production, and the need for integrating cash and food cropping with animal production. The conference called for greater co-operation and communication between workers in different parts of Africa, particularly francophone and anglophone, towards solution of common problems and maximum utilization of limited resources of technical manpower. It was agreed that the conference contributed significantly towards realization of this goal.

In this context an FAO proposal to establish regional agricultural research programmes on the basis of ecological zones, rather than existing arbitrary political boundaries, was vigorously debated. The meeting endorsed a proposed FAO-sponsored meeting of research directors and governmental officials from the thirteen countries in the Sudan-Sahel zone of Africa as a first step in this direction. General agreement was voiced on the need for more co-ordination of research and better facilities for the exchange of results, but there was much difference of opinion on how this could be achieved. There are obvious difficulties in accepting particular definitions both of the ecological zones themselves and of the kind of research which can be effectively carried out toward regional as opposed to national ends. The results of the FAO meeting will be awaited with great interest.

Specifically recommended were:

(a) a study commission to determine factors associated with the recent decline of regional research programmes in Africa following national political independence and factors attributable to the effective functioning of remaining regional research programmes,

(b) development of inter-state quarantine controls for cotton and regional pest control programmes,
(c) expansion of research on rice, particularly for West Africa,
(d) establishment of a study on the problems of pesticide residues,
(e) establishment of regional germ-plasm collections,
(f) a study of agricultural mechanization in Africa.

Particularly evident was the language problem which severely hinders communication between anglophone and francophone research workers. It is also a reflection of the great difference in research organization inherited by the countries of the two language groups from their colonial past. The formation of the AAASA reflects the desire of African scientists to work together toward solution of their common problems; publication of a bi-lingual journal was suggested as a possible mechanism. The immediate steps are in the hands of an eight-member intermim executive committee elected by the conference participants to develop a constitution and call a first meeting of the membership.

Whatever future results may ultimately be traced to the conference, it emphasized the common interests of the various groups of scientists, planners, government officials and educators devoted to agricultural development. Priorities for agricultural research have been established, providing a sharper focus for technical assistance efforts, from national and international sources, and stressing the regional aspects of technical assistance which AID is promoting. While recognizing that technical agricultural research is but one of many facets of agricultural development, providing governments and farmers with essential information and advice is a prerequisite for rational progress. The accord and unity of purpose of this distinguished international group will increase the likelihood of its advice being taken in the future.

Britain.—*Conference on "Stability and Change in Islamic Law"*

A very successful conference on "Stability and Change in Islamic Law" was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, which was made available by the Trustees of St. Catherine's Trust, during the week-end of 22nd March – 25th March, 1968. In the past it has been the custom to hold an annual conference at Cumberland Lodge on some aspects of the laws of a particular Commonwealth country or group of countries for students of those countries, and to invite members of the Bench and Bar and of the universities in the United Kingdom and the countries concerned to attend and read papers. For various reasons it was decided that in 1968 the emphasis on the conference should not be on a particular country or group of countries but on a particular subject; and the subject chosen on this occasion was Muslim law.

The Conference was opened on Friday, 22nd March, by the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross who gave a short introductory address. His speech was followed by a lecture by Professor J. N. D. Anderson, Dean of the Faculty of Law at London University and Director of the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies on "Stability and Change in Islamic Law (An Introduction)". The Chairman at this session was the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross.

Proceedings on the second day commenced with a lecture by Professor Chafik Chehata, Professeur associé à la Faculté de droit de Paris, on "Recent Legislative Reforms in Family Law in the Arab Countries of the Near East and North Africa," the Chairman being Dr. K. R. Simmonds, Director of the British Institute. After an interval for tea Mrs. Doreen Hinchliffe, Lecturer in Islamic Law at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, gave a talk on "Law Reform in the Shi'i World: Recent Legislation in Iran and Iraq." The Chairman at this lecture was Professor J. N. D. Anderson.

In the afternoon, Mr. Khalid M. Ishaque, Adviser on Islamic Law to the Islamic Research Institute, Pakistan, and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, delivered a lecture on "New Legislation and the Islamic Law in Pakistan." The Chairman on this occasion was Mr. H. H. Marshall, Deputy Director of the British Institute. After dinner a talk on "The Codification of Islamic Law in Tanganyika" was delivered by Mr. Bashir H. Rahim, First Parliamentary Draftsman of the Republic of Tanzania, the Chairman being Mr. Khalid M. Ishaque.

The morning of the third day, which was a Sunday, was left free. After lunch Dr. F. K. M. A. Munim, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, read a paper on "Developments in Muslim Law in Pakistan". The Chairman was Mr. H. H. Marshall, Deputy Director of the Institute. Dr. Munim's lecture was followed by a general discussion, conducted by Professor N. J. Coulson, Professor of Law at the School of Oriental and African Studies, on all the lectures which had been delivered during the Conference.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were Mr. David Pearl, University Assistant Lecturer in Mohammedan Law, Cambridge University, Mallam Sulaiman Kumo, Assistant Lecturer, Ahmadu Bello University, Northern Nigeria, Mr. C. P. T. Burke, Barrister-at-Law, formerly of Singapore, Federated Malay States and Johore Bars, Mrs. C. P. T. Burke, Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Institute, London, and Mr. P. J. Wadsley, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present fifteen Senior Guests and thirty-two students of whom eleven were from Pakistan, five each from Malaysia, India, and the Sudan, two from Tanzania and one from Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Sierra Leone.

It was a great pleasure to the Institute to welcome to the Conference Lady Cross and Mrs. Simmonds and the wives of a number of other senior guests. Their presence greatly added to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

Pacific – *The South Pacific Commission*

The South Pacific Commission is an advisory and consultative body set up in 1947 by the six Governments then responsible for the administration of island territories in the South Pacific region (Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States of America). Participation by the Netherlands Government ceased at the end of 1962. The Independent State of Western Samoa was admitted as a participating Government in October, 1964.

The Commission's purpose is to advise the participating Governments on ways of improving the well-being of the people of the Pacific island territories. It is concerned with health, economic, and social matters. Its headquarters are at Nouméa, New Caledonia.

The Commission consists of not more than twelve Commissioners, two from each Government. It normally holds one session each year. There are two auxiliary bodies, the Research Council and the South Pacific Conference.

The Research Council has normally met once a year. Members of the Research Council are appointed by the Commission. The chief function of the Research Council is to advise the Commission on the work programme.

The South Pacific Conference, which meets at intervals not exceeding three years, consists of delegates from the local inhabitants of the territories, who may be accompanied by advisers. The first Conference was held in Fiji in 1950. Subsequent Conferences took place in New Caledonia, Fiji, New Britain, American Samoa, and New Guinea. The Seventh Conference will be held in Nouméa, New Caledonia, in October, 1967.

The principal officers of the Commission are Secretary-General, who also exercises the powers and functions of the Deputy Chairman, Research Council, Sir Gawain Bell; Executive Officer for Health, Dr. Guy Loison; Executive Officer for Economic Development, Mr. William Granger; and Executive Officer for Social Development, Mr. John E. de Young.

From the South Pacific Bulletin, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1967.

Ceylon – *The Land Army*

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, recently expressed his satisfaction with the performance of the Agricultural Corps (popularly known as the Land Army) on its first anniversary. It has also aroused the interest of the Government of Madras which has expressed a desire to set up a land army on similar lines.

The corps began with an enrolment of 345 young men. Their number rose to over 7,000 in 21 camps in the dry zone of the island. It is expected that by the end of this year 15,000 would have enlisted in the corps.

The objectives of the corps are to step up the food production drive by assisting established government departments, e.g. the Irrigation Department and the Land Development Department, to bring in more land under cultivation, and to provide employment opportunities for 15,000 youths (for a start) who will subsequently form a cadre of young agriculturists trained to the job. Government plans to settle them on Crown land in due course.

Its functions are the improvement, restoration and construction of village tanks (artificial reservoirs for irrigation), anicuts and channels, jungle cleaning and the preparation of new land for cultivation. It aims to hand over to the government each year over 15,000 acres of new land with irrigation facilities, in addition to improving such facilities on existing paddy land. Its ultimate target is to prepare 80,000 acres of new land for paddy cultivation, reducing rice imports per annum by Rs. 30m. (£2m. approximately) which will become available for the purchase of capital goods for development.

From New Commonwealth, Trade & Commerce, Number 5, 1968.

Africa – *Local Government Personnel Systems*

(A Note contributed by R. E. Griffiths)

In March, 1967, a Training Course in Local Government Personnel Systems, arranged by the Economic Commission for Africa, was held in Tanzania. Ministry and Local Government Officials from thirteen member states in Africa considered the current arrangements for Local Government personnel administration in operation in various parts of the World in relation to the main requisites for a sound system. Although the consultants and participants were from countries which had developed significant variations in the practice of personnel administration for Local Government, there was a general measure of agreement concerning the main requisites. These included wise recruitment, security of tenure, adequate career structures and advancement solely on merit and qualifications, fair conditions of service, and opportunities for training and to widen experience. These and numerous other factors were considered and discussed in depth; and with special reference to recent experience in the United Republic of Tanzania, which has developed a system on the lines of a unified local government service with standard pay and conditions and with strong centralized control over appointments and dismissals through its Local Government Service Commission.

Participants were particularly interested in this unified system because it has a number of characteristics of value for developing countries. It places emphasis on national uniformity and centralized control at least in the earlier years of development. It helps to provide local authorities even in backward areas with suitable staff for the work involved in giving local effect to national development plans. The associated problems of over-centralization and the loss of local initiative and control arising therefrom were however frankly discussed; and there was some appreciation of the point that, in the long term, if mature local government units are to achieve the best standards there must be maximum delegation to them of the appointment and control of their staffs and other important aspects of personnel administration. In this connection, comparisons were made with the integrated personnel system which operates in a few countries with a tradition of highly centralized administration. There is one integrated set of pay and conditions for officers of local government and the Civil Service, and all important decisions are taken nationally. Thus there is the widest basis for recruitment and career opportunities; but special safeguards are required in this system if local needs are to be met and local government not weakened by over-centralization and paternalistic attitudes.

Information was also given concerning the separate system as operated in Great Britain where the final control of personnel policy is separately exercised by each local authority. Whilst in principle such a system has merit in that it gives to each local government unit its full dignity and importance, experience has shown that each local authority cannot live unto itself alone; and in Great Britain common policies have been settled by representatives of the local authorities acting through voluntary national agreements and the mutual development of centralized personnel services.

Numbers of the participants were well informed about the detailed practice of the principles of personnel administration, though often from the

point of view of national government; and in the discussions keen interest was shown in the Local Government experience of other countries. The interchange of ideas between the consultants and the participants, and their joint consideration of the likely effects of alternative courses of action in the field of personnel administration were most valuable. As is usual with such courses, the time allotted for the examination of important and complex subjects was all too brief; but the Training Course should have made an important impact on the thoughts and actions of those concerned with personnel problems in developing countries.

India – *Local Government Training and Research Centre*

Supported by a grant-in-aid from the Union Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development, the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration came into being in December, 1966, as a wing of the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

The Centre's main objective is to stimulate and strengthen municipal administration and to create a national awareness about the problems of urbanisation and urban administration. Its major functions are:

(a) to organize training courses in urban development and municipal administration;
(b) to hold seminars and conferences on municipal and allied urban problems;
(c) to undertake research on urban problems in relation to municipal administration;
(d) to offer consultancy services on urban local government and administration;
(e) to develop a documentation unit and act as a clearing house of information on urban local government and administration; and
(f) to collaborate with the universities, and other institutions engaged in the study of, and training and research in urban local government and administration.

Botswana – *Local Government*

The system of local government in Botswana in 1966 underwent drastic revision with a view to the provision of an efficient and democratic organisation covering the whole country.

Following the local government elections, which were held on 13th June, nine district and three town councils, commenced to operate on 1st July, 1966. The town councils are at Gaberones, Francistown and Lobatsi and each consists of eight elected and four nominated members. The District Councils vary in size from 12 to 38 members, but all have a substantial majority of elected members. Chiefs were appointed *ex-officio* chairmen in the Central, Kgatleng, Ngwaketse, North West and South East Districts. In the remaining four areas chairmen are elected by the councillors from amongst their own number, as in the case of mayors in the three town administrations. A Local Government Service Commission was established in 1966 to advise the Minister on questions affecting the terms of service of Local Government employees.

Revenue is provided mostly from a graduated Local Government Tax

which was introduced on 1st January, 1966, and which is levied on people of all races resident in a council area.

Local Councils have been encouraged to produce development plans covering the period 1968/69 to 1972/73. Capital projects in these plans include construction of classrooms, clinics, dams, roads, rural abattoirs, etc. Most of these projects will be executed by "self-help" methods, and for this reason Community Development is recognized as providing the machinery for much of the development contemplated by local Councils.

From the New Commonwealth Number 4, 1968.

Britain – *Management Techniques for Chief Officers*

The Institute of Local Government Studies, centred at Birmingham University, have announced details of two seminars for local government chief officers, dealing with measurement and control in local government; these will be held from 22nd to 28th September, 1968, at the University, and from 13th to 19th April, 1969, at Wast Hills House, a newly-acquired property. The seminars will centre on the practical application of management techniques to the achievement of effective control over the performance of the local authority as a whole. The analytical approach to decision-making, including the use of specific management techniques, will form a substantial part of the week's work and some time will be devoted to the central process of management in a local authority, including systems of control and information flow.

Britain – *Higher Degree in Local Government*

In October this year the University of Kent at Canterbury are offering a one-year course for an M.A. degree in local government which is believed to be the first course of its kind. It has been inspired by the recommendations of the Mallaby Committee on the Staffing of Local Government, and its Director is Professor B. Keith-Lucas (Professor of Political Studies at the University), who was a member of that Committee. The Assistant Director is Mr. K. P. Poole, formerly an Assistant Secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations.

The course is primarily an academic one, and candidates to be eligible should normally be graduates with at least an upper second class degree or have a professional qualification of equivalent status; successful completion of the course should lay the foundations for a successful career in local government, whether for Mallaby's lay administrator or for those who subsequently seek specialist qualifications. Favourable consideration will be given to suitably qualified candidates already in local government.

The subjects to be studied will include the development of local government in England, the purpose and practice of local government services, current problems in organization and management, administrative law, local government finance, and systems and quantitative analysis applied to problems of decision-making and control. Candidates who are already well qualified in one or other of these fields will be given an opportunity of pursuing them further, by preparing a thesis in place of a formal examination paper.

Britain – *The Crown Agents*

An Institution with long experience in the needs of Overseas Governments and which continues to meet enquiries and orders covering a very wide field, is The Crown Agents whose new Chairman is Mr. E. C. Hayes until recently an Under Secretary in the Ministry of Overseas Development.

The Crown Agents act as financial and commercial agents for some eighty Governments (within and outside the Commonwealth) and for more than 160 international and Government-sponsored public authorities. They do not act for private individuals or commercial concerns.

The Crown Agent's Office is not a Department of the British Government; nor are its staff civil servants, although their salaries and conditions of service are based on those of the U.K. Civil Service. The Office is, however, as its title implies, a public service. It is entirely dependent on its earnings, but its charges are fixed at a level sufficient only to cover administrative costs, and to maintain an adequate working balance and a reserve for contingencies.

The functions performed by the Crown Agents' Office fall under four main heads:

(a) the purchase, inspection, shipment and insurance of stores, materials, plant and equipment of all kinds;

(b) the provision of specialist advice and practical assistance;

(c) financial services including the management of funds and the maintenance of current accounts on behalf of their principals;

(d) personnel services, such as the recruitment of staff, and the booking of sea and air passages and the payment of salaries and pensions.

Book Reviews

Administrative Problems in Pakistan, Ed. GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD; *Syracuse University Press,* 1966; maps, index; pp. 223; $5.

The six contributors to this book have all been connected with the Pakistan Administrative Staff College in Lahore – an institution set up by the Pakistan Government with the advice and help of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University in U.S.A. and of the Administrative Staff College of Henley-on-Thames in England. Professors Birkhead, Gorvine and Ziring helped to draw up the training programme for the senior administrators whom the Pakistan Government sends to the College; while Professors Fritschler, Platt and Miller spent several months there collecting material for their Doctorate theses.

Professor Birkhead, as Editor, contributes an Introduction which sets out the main features of the administrative history of Pakistan since the Revolution of 1958, and thus serves as a background for the detailed studies of particular aspects of that history which make up the rest of the book. These aspects include basic democracies: the measure of participation of business interests in the administration: the problems presented by agricultural development: the Pakistan Government's rather individual use of corporations as instruments of progress in a variety of fields: the directions which administrative reform ought to take; and – rather oddly – a detailed study of the Karachi Port Trust. As might be expected, the papers are not of equal merit; but together they cover a wide field in a manner especially calculated to enlighten American students of public administration, for whom, no doubt they are primarily intended. Once more, American scholarship has filled a gap in the existing literature dealing with present-day Pakistan.

From the point of view of the British reader, Professor Birkhead's contributions – his Introduction, and his admirable survey of "Government by Corporations" – are perhaps the most outstanding. It is true that with a primarily American audience in mind, he has to spend time and space on explaining points which may seem either obvious or over-laboured to those of us who are familiar with the country; but none the less, it is good to be reminded that the Pakistan Government has inherited from the British raj certain characteristics which astonish foreign observers. I well remember, when I was working with Lionel Curtis and E. S. Montague how startled both men were when a senior member of the I.C.S. told them, as a matter of simple fact: "You must realise that the I.C.S. *are* the Government!". And much the same thing still holds good with the C.S.P. today; for although the overall formulation of policy rests with President Ayub Khan and his Cabinet, the execution of that policy, and the ultimate shape that it takes, rests largely in the hands of the all-Pakistan Services. In such a situation, it is greatly to the credit of these Services that "the strong concern with administrative reform" which is noted with approval by several of the contributors to this volume, should be so characteristic of the atmosphere of Pakistan today. Professor Gorvine, who writes the chapter dealing with this subject, has

some pointed comments about the directions which this reform ought to take, and he notes that the ideas put forward by his co-nationals Egger in 1953 and Gladieux in 1955 – although originally most unacceptable to senior Officers – are now beginning to exercise influence. It was perhaps ironical that very soon after these reports – which were never published – had passed somewhat severe strictures upon the capacity of senior Officers in the Services to adapt themselves to national needs, these same Officers successfully carried through the enormous task of consolidating West Pakistan into a single unit.

As a whole, the writers of these papers describe with sympathy and insight the efforts which the Pakistan administrators are making to develop their country; and full justice is done to the startling success of such innovations as the Rural Works Programme. Broadly speaking, they find that progress in national growth has considerably outstripped what they can call, for want of a better term, "political modernization", and they are inclined to press strongly for a greater measure of participation by non-official organizations – to say nothing of the legislatures – in policy-making. But is not this view something to be expected from observers imbued with western constitutional ideas? Does it apply as absolutely as they seem to think to the present-day needs of Pakistan?

This book is both valuable and suggestive, in spite of the fact that the material it embodies stops short at 1965. It thus take no account of the remarkable recovery which the economy of Pakistan effected after the shock of the outbreak of hostilities with India – a recovery which would seem to show that there cannot, after all, be much wrong with either the leadership, or the administrative machinery, of present-day Pakistan.

RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

State Succession in Municipal Law and International Law. By D. P. O'CONNELL. *Cambridge University Press* 1967. Vol. I: cxi and 592 pp. £7 7s. net in U.K.; Vol. II: cxi and 430 pp. £6 net in U.K.

In 1956 the author, who is Professor of Law in the University of Adelaide and an acknowledged authority in his field, published his work entitled *The Law of State Succession*. He now says that since that date the universe of international relations has fundamentally altered with the appearance of a large number of new states and that reflection on the problems presented by decolonisation has increased his insight into the problem of State succession as a whole and has led him to take greater account of the diversity of situations and the variety of problems generated by them. The present work, therefore, while it incorporates the material of the 1956 book, is not a second edition of it but has a new and expanded content. It is in two volumes entitled "Internal Relations" and "International Relations" and they deal with problems arising primarily under municipal law and under international law respectively. The second volume very conveniently contains all the material on treaties.

The importance of the work to readers of this Journal lies to a large extent in the consideration that Professor O'Connell gives to the evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth, the French Community and Francophone States, the Congo and the Netherlands Indies and to subjects such as

the continuity of law in new states, the effect of independence on nationality, the effect on treaties of grants of independence, the effect of change of sovereignty on multilateral conventions (including the practice of the successor states) and the assignment of treaties to successor states. Of particular interest are topics such as the effect of state succession on the judicial system, the effect of change of sovereignty on the administration of absorbed territory and on the public property of the state. In addition the work contains an exposition of every aspect of the law of state succession derived from a a consideration not only of the general principles of international law and practice but also of actual concrete problems considered on a state-by-state basis. This material is supported by encyclopaedic particulars of specific problems, situations and cases, published and unpublished, and of treaties, conventions, incidents and events made by or occurring between states in the international field.

The "cut-off date" of both volumes is 31st December, 1965, but some of the more important references for 1966 have been added during proof-reading. There are excellent indexes, tables of cases (international and municipal), of statutes (U.K. and Commonwealth), of U.K. statutory instruments, of treaties and of abbreviations.

This work will be of interest to all those concerned with the subject of state succession, but will be of the greatest value to those actively involved with foreign affairs in the ministries and embassies of those nations which have emerged into sovereign statehood since the end of the second World War. It is likely to become the authoritative textbook on the subject with which it deals.

H. H. MARSHALL

Reflections on Nigeria's Economic Growth, by W. ARTHUR LEWIS. *Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris,* 1967. 65 pp. 9s.

This monograph (written before the current tragic events in Nigeria) is written with Sir Arthur Lewis's customary racy style and economy of words. The apparently casual observations are loaded with wisdom and the book should be read by a far wider audience than those whose concern is primarily with Nigeria alone.

It is the agricultural sector that Professor Lewis is particularly concerned about. He attributes the increase in crop output, except for cocoa, to more planting as a result of favourable prices and improved transport facilities. He lays blame for the decline in the production of palm and the export of palm produce squarely on the shoulders of the government that drove producer prices so low. Hence the farmer prefers to grow food. Sir Arthur Lewis is hopeful about agricultural development in Nigeria because 'the Nigerian farmer has proved himself to be an economic man' (p. 53). The evidence he cites in proof of this is that the farmer looks ahead and invests in crops that take years to mature before they bear fruit, the use that is made of fertilisers and pesticides, and the way the farmer shows great flexibility and powers of adaptation to new crop varieties. Because of all this Professor Lewis feels that future agricultural development in Nigeria should be based

on the small farmer and not on the development of plantations and state farms.

The author has little faith in politicians and he asks for a diminution in 'the powers of Ministers to make arbitrary economic decisions without consulting advisers and public advisory bodies, or in defiance of the advice which they receive' (p. 39). This surely exhibits a faith in technical advice which is a little surprising. One can think of many developing countries which would have been far healthier today had they rejected the advice they received from technical experts. Less debatable is the contention that Africa is ready to make a transition to a 'refinement of administrative textures' (p. 40). This may be so, but Sir Arthur Lewis unfortunately leaves this fascinating observation at this point and thus begs all the questions. Precisely what form should these administrative textures take? Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Senegal, to take four countries virtually at random, would all agree on the need for such refinement but each would have very different views on what the substance of such refinements should be.

TOM SOPER

African Integration and Disintegration, edited by ARTHUR HAZLEWOOD. *Oxford University Press*, 1967; pp. xii, 414, 9 maps, chart; 75s.

This is an extremely important book, both for those concerned with terminal colonial arrangements (where the metropolitan government, in the words of one of the contributors, may act "as a referee and as a pressure group") and for those interested in the inter-territorial relations of the new states of Africa. That it is a follow-up volume to Chatham House's 1962 *Case Studies in European Economic Union: The Mechanics of Integration* and that its editorship is in the hands of an eminent Africanist economist – Arthur Hazlewood's own contributions make up a third of the book – must not deter the non-economics-oriented readers of this journal from studying it. For these are all case-studies in political as much as economic union. Several contributors, notably Edwin Ardener on Cameroon, write as tellingly in the one discipline as the other, and none is rash enough to believe, for all their sad story of failures in African federating movements, that the keys of either the political or the economic kingdom alone are enough to open the doors of national prosperity - maybe even survival – in this half of the twentieth century. As Hazelwood puts it, "the difficulties of economic and of political integration are fundamentally the same: they both require a surrender of political autonomy."

The introductory essay by Hazlewood succinctly sets in perspective the general problems of integration among African states. He discusses in detail customs unions as well as more limited measures of econmic co-operation before coming down in favour of an investment bank as the most likely form of a regulated common market. We then have essays on three Economic Unions: Peter Robson on the common market experience of Equatorial Africa (the former AEF territories and Cameroon), Hazlewood on that of the anglophone East African countries taking us beyond the 1964 Kampala Agreement, and Robson expanding his earlier article in the *Journal of Modern African Studies* concerning the potential Senegal-Gambia linking, with a look at the 1964 UN Report and its unpromising aftermath.

Next, Political Unions, where Father O'Connell writes on Nigeria and

Hazelwood on the dissolved Central African Federation. For unrepentant personal reasons as well as O'Connell's own thesis that "the Nigerian situation brings out more clearly than most the difficulty of genuinely resolving issues before independence", I paid closest attention to this long dissection of the Nigerian case. Maybe the deeprooted intractability of the problem necessitates such a lengthy historical survey of the period up to the founding of the first political party in 1923; at any rate, as he advances into the recent political past Father O'Connell writes with great effect, and his narrative of the gradual confrontation between the North and the South is a careful piece of analysis. His finale dealing with events after the shockingly rigged Western Region election of 1965 and the NPC's shortsighted backing of the rejected NNDP – the immediate trigger to the downfall of civilian government – is one of the first accounts to appear in scholarly retrospect and provides a valuable assessment of the 1966 crises. His own estimate of those massacred in October 1966 is much less than some official figures, but his horror at the brutality of the killings and attribution of blame are no less.

The special cases of a union of Trust Territories are considered by Ardener (Cameroon) and I. M. Lewis (Somali Republic). These are, along with Catherine Hoskyns' Chapter 10, two of the best among the many very good contributions. Both are of particular interest, not only because of their own merits but because they treat of the two sole successes in political union on the whole continent. In West Cameroon – the old Northern Cameroons is purposely excluded from the story – Ardener assures us that reunification is the "dominant fact of life", and he therefore lays great stress on the Western side of the situation. (His rule of thumb footnote on terminological usage in the Cameroon context is especially helpful). With his considerable personal knowledge of the country, Ardener's section on social and political adjustments in the years after reunification – and he makes the point that this was reunification of the even narrower boundaries than those of the 1922 Mandate, let alone those of the 1894 or 1911 *Schutzgebiet* – is highly informative, especially for readers of this journal. It is the *economic* changes, such as those deriving from West-East communications development and the amalgamation of Bota, Tiko and Douala into a single port complex, that Ardener sees as having the greatest *political* importance in fundamentally affecting the Republic as a whole and West Cameroon in particular. As we might expect from a social anthropologist, his admirable analysis of the socio-linguistic sets subsumed under 'ethnicity' and his whole discussion of 'tribe' and linguistic criteria (pp. 293 ff.) are of a relevance far beyond the confines of this chapter or the book itself. In a shorter but no less masterly chapter, Lewis has encapsulated the obstacles and eventual triumph of what he terms Somali 'cultural nationalism' over the divisive effects of dual colonialism on a dismembered African people. There is a lot to be learned, too, from his section on the mechanics of integration. Both these writers give due attention to the crucial issues of the role of language in nation-building – crucial but, as the Cameroon experience shows, not necessarily insuperable, once granted the acceptance of true bilingualism rather than enforced monolingualism.

The book concludes with two essays lifting the discussion beyond the co-operation of adjacent states and considering integration on an areal or pan-African level. Roland Julienne closes his examination of the integrative

experience of French-speaking Africa as a potentially cohesive, if not homogeneous, group with a controversial opinion. As befits a Frenchman, he salutes, unexceptionably, the cementing force of France's cultural legacy; then, recognising that by and large integrationist inclinations are likely to yield to the forces of disunity, he pins his hope on "some sort of compromise between a continental grouping on the one hand and the present nation states on the other: French-speaking Africa is precisely such a group". In her exemplary chapter, Catherine Hoskyns takes a continental overview of the achievements and failures of pan-African ideas, dealing in turn with the nine organizations that have at one time or another been set up (all but two, OAU and OCAM, have lapsed) since Nasser founded the AAPSO in 1957, considering them at four levels of aspired integration. On the influence of 1966's record of military *coups d'état*, Miss Hoskyns sees them as persuading insecurity-conscious leaders to become more inward-looking and thus less receptive to talk of supra-national integration. Few would quarrel with her verdict that on the pan-African scene the price of unity has too often been inaction, and that with the removal of such vocal advocates of pan-Afrcianism as Nkrumah and Ben Bella, the impetus for change may have been lost altogether.

The table of abbreviations is of little use: it might have dispensed with its explanation that B = Bulletin and J = Journal, and instead have included at least one of the dizzy dozen of initialled organizations that proliferate at, say, pp. 350 or 373. The preference of "mn" over "m" for "million" is not known to the publishers' own handbook of compositors' house rules, and my knowledge of Cameroon would have been helped had the College of Arts, Science & Technology at Bambui-Bambili been located on the map. Rosberg has acquired a superfluous letter at p.251n. Official etiquette in Nigeria required the precedence of Muslim honorifics, so that Father O'Connell's Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa would not be correct there. But these are minor blemishes in a book of major importance. The excellent maps, the exhaustive index and the general appearance of the book – including its imaginative dustjacket – all combine with the high standard of practical scholarship that one has come to associate with books produced under the auspices of the RIIA and published by the OUP.

This is a meaty, authoritative, compelling and depressing collection of high-calibre case studies – depressing by both its catalogue of past failures in integration and its pessimistic shadows cast over the future. It is an added credit to this book that it deals as fully with the experience of francophone Africa as with the English-speaking countries. Excepting the success stories of Cameroon – no African federation was conceived and born in less favourable circumstances, with the challenge of integrating two opposed metropolitan cultural heritages and governmental systems exacerbated by the reality of a nasty civil war – and the Somali Republic, these studies have as much to tell us about the weakening of existing ties as about the *rapprochement* of those who had been apart. True, as the editor also reminds us, the unity which appeared once to exist was illusory for it was imposed from outside for the administrative convenience of the colonial power, "a unity of Europe in Africa, reflecting the hegemony of the metropolitan country over its various colonies". What African administrator can recall more than perhaps one

really successful federation of his own making, from the DO's task of combining petty and apparently unviable Native Administrations up to the Governor's scheme of federating a territory with its neighbour? For all their arguments of strength and rationalization, the failures have outnumbered the successes: federations in the final analysis depend on peoples, not plans, and the human element cannot be ignored or overridden. If national autonomy was worth fighting for, its recent acquisition is not something to be lightly given up; economic sense may have to yield to sentiment. Europe's own slow advance to economic, let alone political, community is a lesson to remember when we are considering the sad tally-card of Africa's attempts at integration. In reviewing a book complementary to this one (Watts, *New Federations: Experiments in the Commonwealth*, curiously missing from the extensive bibliography here) in the January issue of this *journal*, Prof. Mackenzie recalled the apparent slogan of "no decolonisation without viability" and commented how part of the weakness was that federation meant more to the exporters than to their customers. Today the balance of trade, if we may continue the metaphor, lies in the hands of the erstwhile customers as manufacturers in their own right: how they rationalize their businesses and regroup remains to be seen. For a clear and reasoned understanding of some of the weighty problems they have to face and of the causes of past failure, and rare success, in attempts to integrate, this volume is excellent and essential reading for all.

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE

Government and Politics in Tanzania, by WILLIAM TORDOFF; *East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi*; maps, appendices, index; pp. 257; 24s.

One Party Democracy, the 1965 Tanzania General Elections, Ed. LIONEL CLIFFE; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*; illustrations, maps, appendices, index; pp. 470; 25s. (in East Africa) 42s. (outside East Africa).

Under President Nyerere's leadership Tanzania has evolved her own individualistic policies both domestic and foreign – and while seeking the maximum accord with her African neighbours, has shown no hesitation in "going it alone" where the national interest and the principles upon which it is based are deemed to diverge from the policies followed by others. The goal pursued by Tanzania (abetted by some novel legislation) is the building of an "egalitarian state".

To the many students of politics watching the Tanzanian experiment, Professor Tordoff should be essential basic reading. His sympathy with the ambitions of a humanist leader in no way blinds him to the difficulties being faced and in particular to the pitfalls that may lie before a *de jure* one party state. The essays collected here are written with a perception that is greatly enhanced by the authors' personal observation and research while at the University College in Dar es Salaam. In particular the studies on Parliament and Party, on Central and Regional Administration depict with balance and clarity the evolution and early working of the new-look politics of Tanzania. More no doubt will need to be written on the ever-changing ministerial system controlling local government (now again "out" of Regional Administration and virtually, and surely frustratingly, absorbed by Community

Development), and on the failure of demagogically-successful trade union leaders to rally their rank and file against (very necessary) state control, why Tumbo abandoned the railwaymen for a High Commission post in which he showed no interest and no desire to retain, and on the mutineer/dockers conspiracy of which the Government was so convinced that the Royal Navy was called to the rescue.

Professor Tordoff provides an admirable brief summary and assessment of the remarkable general election of 1965 – the subject of the volume edited by Lionel Cliffe. This election saw the newly invented one-party democracy functioning for the first time, in which the electorate in each constituency was given the freedom of choice between two candidates both of the ruling Tanu party (save in six cases where there was an unopposed return). The democratic process began at District level where the local party conference voted on nominated candidates, and continued at National Executive level when in each case where more than two names had been put forward, the final two contestants were selected.

Lionel Cliffe and his colleagues have collated much interesting and detailed information about the election proceedings, Belle Harris providing an excellent description of the electoral system itself. It is a pity however that this account of an unique electoral process should be padded out with a lot of irrelevant, woolly and questionable sociology and history. "Local Government changes" in Ugogo with no mention of the role of Job Lusinde or the venerable Chief Mazengo (who anointed Dr. Nyerere as President), of Kilimanjaro politics and no mention of Petro Njau; on the other hand an absurd reference to "tacit government approval" of the witch hunting of 1956/57 in Rungwe – all this and much else should have been omitted. As to the defeat of Jeremiah Kasambla, while Professor Tordoff considers it largely due to his political sense not matching his ministerial competence, Messrs. Mwansasu and Miller point to the tribalism of a Bundali/Lambya majority in his constituency out-voting his Nyakusa supporters in Pakati. This is all surmise: had his opponent been a Nyakusa in a largely Nyakusa constituency, the result might well have been the same. An "absentee" minister/member unavoidably out of touch with his constituents and the traditional Nyakusa suspicion of their fellows who climb high and their delight in bringing them down a peg, would have made no Rungwe constituency safe for Kasambla whose long and highly competent direction of the Rungwe Co-operative Union had previously earned him malicious and ill-founded local criticism.

P.H.J.

Other Books Received

Africa from Early Times to 1800, Ed. P. J. M. McEwan; *Oxford University Press,* 1968; index etc.; pp. 436; 55s.

Twentieth Century Africa, Ed. P. J. M. McEwan; *Oxford University Press,* 1968; maps, bibliography and index; pp. 517; 50s.

The editor has collated nearly 100 "readings" on Africa, extracts from books and journal articles by a widely catholic choice of authors.

In the first volume, such is the limited historical knowledge of Africa South of the Sahara, that the well balanced material collected here provides an excellent broad picture of the once "dark continent" from pre-history to 1800. To the general reader much of interest well told, to the student an invaluable background to stimulate more detailed reading, to both their knowledge enhanced. One small point: the lofty Kalambo falls form the boundary between Zambia and Tanzania and so are shared by both countries. In the second volume, the twentieth century does not provide similar scope. Were Africa to contain ten not forty states, material of this kind could be useful to students: as it is one must question the value of learning history by snippets – the danger of a veneer of knowledge lacking any real depth would seem too great.

The New States of Africa, by Arnold Rivkin; *Foreign Policy Association, New York;* pp. 63; $0.85.

Writing with wide knowledge and experience of Africa, Dr. Rivkin has achieved no mean feat in containing his monograph to so few pages. Aimed it would seem at the well educated American who may not be versed in African affairs, and perhaps who would not find time to delve deep into heavy volumes, Dr. Rivkin's enlightened, liberal pen will serve a very useful purpose.

The Commonwealth Office Year Book, 1968; *H.M.S.O., London;* appendices, index, map; pp. 816; 65s.

The Library Department of the Commonwealth Office and H.M.S.O. earn high commendation for the excellent production of this major source of up-to-date information about the countries of the Commonwealth.

The "vital statistics" of every member nation overseas, dependencies and the associated states, are provided together with much other useful data about the Commonwealth Secretariat and other bodies, trade statistics and items of general knowledge.

68 Catalogue of Social and Economic Development Training Institutes and Programmes; *O.E.C.D. Development Centre, Paris;* pp. 343; £1 11s.

O.E.C.D. has provided a valuable handbook on training facilities available to students from developing countries in the fields of economic and social development; included are references to 93 Institutes and 143 specialised programmes available in 25 countries and 15 international organisations.

Politics of Colonial Policy, The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration 1696-1720, by I. K. Steele; *Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press,* 1968; appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 217; 48s.

How did colonial administration originally get going? What did "Whitehall" do in the early days? How was a new government department affected by the Royal Prerogative and by the emergence of a Cabinet system? Professor Steele in his admirable study of the Board of Trade over a turbulent quarter century of British history covering much of three reigns provides a fascinating and informative reply.

Law in Africa, No. 24 Evidence in East Africa, by H. F. MORRIS; **No. 25 An Introduction to the Law of Uganda,** by DOUGLAS BROWN and PETER A. P. J. ALLEN; *Sweet & Maxwell, London*; *African University Press*, Lagos, 1968; No. 24 with index, pp. 283; 65s. (paperback 35s.); No. 25, with index, pp. 136; 55s. (paperback 25s.).

Messrs. Sweet and Maxwell continue their admirable series on Law in Africa with two more excellent volumes. Mr. Morris in particular fills a hitherto serious void by providing the first text book on the law of evidence in East Africa. Since the laws of each Territory are based on the old Indian Evidence Act, itself the subject of major commentaries, the author has been able to concentrate his able commentary on the Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania Acts, including the new Tanzania Evidence Act (No. 6 of 1967). Not only Law Faculty and students, but bench and bar, will find this volume invaluable.

Messrs. Brown and Allen must be congratulated on their lucid introduction to the laws of Uganda, very skilfully contained in less than 140 pages – a model of its kind.

The African Law Reports, 1965 Commercial; Gen. Ed. ALAN MILNER; *Oceana Publications, New York*, 1968; pp. 625; $20.

This volume is the first in a new series planned to see published all English language judgments from the Superior Courts of 17 African countries. Besides current volumes, coverage from 1900 will also be provided.

This major project will be of the greatest value to all studets of comparative law in Africa, to Law Faculties and to Judiciaries and Law Departments – providing as it will a readily ascertainable source of legal knowledge which would otherwise require much research and a vast and expensive law library. The size of the project would appear to be very great indeed and it is certainly to be hoped that it will be fulfilled successfully.

The present volume, admirably produced, on Commercial Law, covers Basutoland (now Lesotho), Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, the Sudan and Uganda.

Malaysia–Prospect and Retrospect, by RICHARD ALLEN; *Oxford University Press*, 1968; bibliography, chronological table, maps, index; pp. 330; 55s.

The sub-title "the impact and aftermath of colonial rule" as it affected Malaya and Singapore, Borneo and the Dutch East Indies, describes the main purpose of Sir Richard Allen's study: the colonial era background, the Japanese invasion, then the post-war reckoning bringing with it violent nationalism in Indonesia, the communist emergency in Malaya, independence, federation, confrontation; Singapore separated from Malaysia, President Sukarno's eclipse, confrontation ended.

Here is well balanced, well written history sympathetically told – of dynamic developments among volatile peoples who have now earned that period of stability without which the economic development of their potential riches cannot be fully achieved.

Pakistan – The Formative Phase, 1857-1948, by KHALID B. SAYEED; *Oxford University Press*, 1968; appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 341; 45s.

This second edition of "Pakistan" closes with 1948 (the account of the subsequent 12 years now being omitted) and a chapter on the Viceregal system has been added. The great virtue of Dr. Sayeed's writing lies in the sympathetic understanding and the perceptive skill with which he examines the pre-independence tensions between Hindu and Muslim leaders and that he can achieve this both without partisanship and without being dull, is indeed no mean feat.

Fragments of Empire, by DERYCK SCARR, *Australian National University Press, Canberra* (U.K. & European distributors C. Hurst & Co., London); with bibliography, references, index; pp. 367; A$9.90.

All those who are interested in the Western Pacific will find Dr. Scarr's study both fascinating and invaluable for an understanding of the historical background to the many and varied political developments which have affected the Polynesian and Melanesian Islands in recent years.

Based on a great deal of original research, the reader is provided with a remarkably clear picture of the "British official presence" in the Western Pacific Islands in the five decades preceding the first world war: the difficulties that beset High Commissioners and the Navy in coping with missionaries and settlers, recruiters and islanders, the distant and limited control from Whitehall, the strengthening voice of Australia. Of particular interest is the account of how Tonga with the aid of Shirley Baker achieved protection without annexation.

Burden of Empire, by L. H. GANN & PETER DUIGAN; *Pall Mall Press, London,* 1968; bibliography and index; pp. 435; 60s.

Apologists for the Colonial era in Africa are unfashionable nowadays and no doubt Messrs. Gann and Duigan will not be surprised at the criticism they are likely to evoke from many Africa-minded contemporaries. "Burden of Empire", however, is by no means a purely partisan assessment of the past though many will regard as controversial, the romanticists as Blimpish, their summary conclusion that "the imperialists can plead that, even within their critics' own unspoken terms of reference, the colonial record involved tremendous achievements for good as well as ill. In our view, the imperial system stands out as one of the most powerful engines for cultural diffusion in the history of Africa; its credit balance by far outweighs its debit account." Yet this is less extreme than the argument often heard on the other side of the dialogue. The authors would probably win more sympathy were there not from time to time a somewhat patronising tone that jars – such as the rather arrogantly phrased praise given to Presidents Kaunda and Senghor in the final chapter.

Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795–1880, by J. B. KELLY; *The Clarendon Press, Oxford*; maps, appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 911; £10 10s.

Historians and students of British Imperial history have now been provided with a major new authoritative work. J. B. Kelly's veritable *magnum opus* will be indispensable reading for those who wish to learn and understand Britain's increasing role in the Persian Gulf and Arabia during the nineteenth century and in particular British Middle East policy to the decade that followed the opening of the Suez Canal.

Contemporary Canada, Ed. RICHARD H. LEACH; *Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina,* 1968; index; pp. 328; $10.

In 1966, The Commonwealth Studies Centre at Duke University sponsored a seminar on contemporary Canada as the Confederation was about to enter the second century of its existence. As with other volumes published by the centre this is very finely produced; it contains the papers prepared for the seminar by twelve academics covering the fields of political science, economics, sociology, industrial relations, commerce and history.

All the authors except the editor have present or past University experience in Canada, and their very considerable expertise collated here provides a valuable picture of Canada in a broad and well drawn perspective.

Trinidad in Transition–The Years after Slavery, by DONALD WOOD; *Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations,* 1968; bibliography, index; pp. 318; 45s.

Trinidad, the richest of the British Caribbean Islands, the most cosmopolitan and yet always the least torn by racial strife, the envy of her partners in the short-lived federation, reached independence from a historical background very different from most of her West Indian neighbours. Donald Wood in his scholarly and fascinating socio-political history describes how Trinidad faced the post-slavery era of the nineteenth century; his deep insight into the social problems involved and the motivations of peoples with divers cultures and religions enhance the value of this excellent study.

Records of the Maji Maji Rising, PART ONE; Ed. G. C. K. GWASSA and John ILIFFE; *East African Publishing House;* pp. 32; E.A.s 2/50.

This slender volume has been well produced by the publishers. The material is disappointing. There is no mention of R. M. Bell's excellent study of the rising both in Liwale and Songea, no mention of Barikiwa, nor of the earlier Angoni invasion despite which, within a few years, Angoni and Ngindo, *inter alios,* joined hands to rise against the Germans. Certainly one who has "pilgrimaged" to the site of the Maji Maji spring near Ngarambe, who used to talk quite often with that cheerful non-warrior the late Saidi Rupembe, and who has covered much of Liwale on foot and seen fertile valleys unoccupied since the decimation that followed the rising, could reasonably have expected something rather more.

The Niger Explored, by E. W. BOVILL; *Oxford University Press,* 1968; illustrated, bibliography and index; pp. 263; 45s.

Traditionally explorers struggle to find the source of a great river. In the case of the Niger, however, long mooted and finally confirmed by Mungo Park when he reached it upstream in 1796, the objective was to find its exit to the sea – did it turn in its course to become the Nile or perhaps the Congo? Not till 1830 did Richard Lander find the answer on the shores of the Atlantic.

In this, his last book, the late E. W. Bovill tells the enthralling tale of the several expeditions from Park's final and fatal adventure and subsequent failures to the success of the Lander brothers.

The story is a fascinating one and very well told in a book which should find a place on the shelves of every collector of Africana.

The Fortunate Slave, by DOUGLAS GRANT; *Oxford University Press,* 1968; illustrated, bibliography, appendix, index; pp. 231; 35s.

Here is the astonishing Eighteenth Century story of Job Solomon, son of a Moslem notable, who was captured and enslaved and shipped to America from the Gambia, who was freed by a philanthropic Englishman, who moved in society and was received at Court in London, who returned safely home to his family in West Africa – a saga that Professor Grant tells admirably in this excellently produced volume.

Suffering without Bitterness, by JOMO KENYATTA; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi; Heinmann Educational Books, London,* 1968; pp. 348; 18s.

The President of Kenya provides the foreword and, as he explains therein, members of his staff have undertaken the practical labour of the subsequent chapters which cover the period from the Kapenguria trial to his appointment as Prime Minister in June, 1963. Of particular interest are the appendices that follow and which contain President Kenyatta's principal public speeches from 1963 to 1967.

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